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Hakluytus Posthumus
or
Purchas His Pilgrimes

In Twenty Volumes

Volume XIX

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EXPLORERS
JAMES B. FORD
CLUB

Hakluytus Posthumus

or

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning a History of the World
in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells
by Englishmen and others

By

SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D.

VOLUME XIX

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THE NINETEENTH VOLUME

OF

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning English Plantations, Discoveries, Acts and Occurrents in Virginia and Summer Islands: English Discoveries and Plantations in New England, Newfoundland; with the Patent and Voyages to New Scotland, and Relations of the Fleets set forth by Queen Elizabeth against the Spaniards

Chap. V.

A Letter of M. Gabriel Archar, touching the Voyage of the Fleet of Ships, which arrived at Virginia, without Sir Tho. Gates, and Sir George Summers, 1609.

FRom Woolwich the fifteenth of May, 1609, seventh saile weyed anchor, and came to Plimmouth the twentieth day, where Sir George Somers, with two small Vessels, consorted with us. Here we tooke into the Blessing (being the ship wherein I went) sixe Mares and two Horses; and the Fleet layed in some necessaries belonging to the action: In which businesse we spent time till the second of June. And then wee set sayle to Sea, but crost by South-west windes, we put in to Faulemouth, and there staying till the eight of June, we then gate out. Our Course was commanded to leave the Canaries one hundred leagues to the Eastward at least, and to steere away directly for Virginia, without touching at the West Indies, except the Fleet should chance to be separated, then they were to repaire to the Bermuda, there to stay seven dayes in expectation of the Admirall; and if they found him not, then to take their course to Virginia.

The appointed Course.

Now thus it happened; about sixe dayes after we lost the sight of England, one of Sir George Somers Pinnasses left our company, and (as I take it) bare up for England; the rest of the ships, viz. The Sea Adventure Admirall, wherein was Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George

The Ships, and chiefe men in the Fleet.

Somer, and Captaine Newport: The Diamond Viceadmirall, wherein was Captaine Ratcliffe, and Captaine King. The Falcon Reare-admirall, in which was Captaine Martin, and Master Nellson: The Blessing, wherein I and Captaine Adams went: The Unitie, wherein Captaine Wood, and Master Pett were. The Lion, wherein Captaine Webb remained: And the Swallow of Sir George Somers, in which Captaine Moone, and Master Somer went. In the Catch went one Matthew Fitch Master: and in the Boat of Sir George Somers, called the Virginia, which was built in the North Colony, went one Captaine Davies, and one Master Davies. These were the Captaines and Masters of our Fleet.

We ran a Southerly course from the Tropicke of Cancer, where having the Sun within sixe or seven degrees right over our head in July, we bore away West; so that by the fervent heat and loomes breezes, many of our men fell sicke of the Calenture, and out of two ships was throwne over-boord thirtie two persons. The Viceadmirall was said to have the plague in her; but in the Blessing we had not any sicke, albeit we had twenty women and children.

Sicknesse and mortalitie at Sea.

Upon Saint James day, being about one hundred and fiftie leagues distant from the West Indies, in crossing the Gulfe of Bahoma, there hapned a most terrible and vehement storme, which was a taile of the West Indian Horacano; this tempest seperated all our Fleet one from another, and it was so violent that men could scarce stand upon the Deckes, neither could any man heare another speake, being thus divided, every man steered his owne course, and as it fell out about five or sixe dayes after the storme ceased (which endure fortie foure houres in extremitie) the Lion first, and after the Falcon and the Unitie, got sight of our Shippe, and so we lay a way directly for Virginia, finding neither current nor winde opposite, as some have reported, to the great charge of our Counsell and Adventurers. The Unity was sore distressed when she came up with us, for of seventy land

Terrible tempest.

[IV. ix. 1734.]

Note. False rumors chargeable.

men, she had not ten sound, and all her Sea men were downe, but onely the Master and his Boy, with one poore sailer, but we relieved them, and we foure consorting, fell into the Kings River haply the eleventh of August. In the Unity were borne two children at Sea, but both died, being both Boyes. *Arrivall in Virginia.*

When wee came to James Towne, we found a Ship which had bin there in the River a moneth before we came; this was sent out of England by our Counsels leave and authority, to fish for Sturgeon, and to goe the ready way, without tracing through the Torrid Zoan, and shee performed it: her Commander was Captaine Argoll (a good Marriner, and a very civill Gentleman) and her Master one Robert Tindall. *Captain Argall.*

The people of our Colonie were found all in health (for the most part) howbeit when Captaine Argoll came in, they were in such distresse, for many were dispersed in the Savages townes, living upon their almes for an ounce of Copper a day, and fourescore lived twenty miles from the Fort, and fed upon nothing but Oysters eight weekes space, having no other allowance at all, neither were the people of the Country able to relieve them if they would. Whereupon Captaine Newport and others have beene much to blame to informe the Counsell of such plenty of victuall in this Country, by which meanes they have beene slacke in this supply to give convenient content. Upon this, you that be adventurers, must pardon us, if you finde not returne of Commodity so ample as you may expect, because the law of nature bids us seeke sustenance first, and then to labour to content you afterwards. But upon this point I shall be more large in my next Letter. *State of the Colony.* *Idlenesse and other vices to blame also.*

After our foure Ships had bin in harbour a few dayes, came in the Viceadmirall, having cut her maine Mast over boord, and had many of her men very sicke and weake, but she could tell no newes of our Governour, and some three or foure dayes after her, came in the Swallow, with her maine Mast overboord also, and had a shrewd leake, neither did she see our Admirall. *Some things partly false rumors, partly factions, suggestions are here left out.*

Now did we all lament much the absence of our Governour, for contentions began to grow, and factions, and partakings, &c. Insomuch as the President, to strengthen his authority, accorded with the Mariners, and gave not any due respect to many worthy Gentlemen, that came in our Ships: whereupon they generally (having also my consent) chose Master West, my Lord de la Wars brother, to be their Governour, or president de bene esse, in the absence of Sir Thomas Gates, or if he miscarried by Sea, then to continue till we heard newes from our Counsell in England. This choice of him they made not to disturbe the old President during his time, but as his authority expired, then to take upon him the sole government, with such assistants of the Captaines, as discreetest persons as the Colonie afforded. Perhaps you shall have it blazoned a mutenie by such as retaine old malice; but Master West, Master Percie, and all the respected Gentlemen of worth in Virginia, can and will testifie otherwise upon their oathes. For the Kings Patent we ratified, but refused to be governed by the President that now is, after his time was expired, and onely subjected our selves to Master West, whom we labour to have next President. I cannot certifie you of much more as yet, untill we grow to some certaine stay in this our state, but by the other Ships you shall know more. So with my harty commendations I cease. From James Towne this last of August 1609.

They choose a new Governor. Hinc illæ lachrymæ. Hence from the malecontents which had beene in Virginia before enemies to the President, raising now ill reports at their comming of him arose these stirs, and the following miseries in which this Author with almost the whole Colony perished.

Chap. VI.

A true reportory of the wracke, and redemption of Sir Thomas Gates Knight; upon, and from the Ilands of the Bermudas: his comming to Virginia, and the estate of that Colonie then, and after, under the government of the Lord La Warre, July 15. 1610. written by William Strachy, Esquire.

§. I.

A most dreadfull Tempest (the manifold deaths whereof are here to the life described) their wracke on Bermuda, and the description of those Ilands.

EXcellent Lady, know that upon Friday late in the evening, we brake ground out of the Sound of Plymouth, our whole Fleete then consisting of seven good Ships, and two Pinnaces, all which from the said second of June, unto the twenty three of July, kept in friendly consort together, not a whole watch at any time loosing the sight each of other. Our course when we came about the height of betweene 26. and 27. degrees, we declined to the Northward, and according to our Governours instructions altered the trade and ordinary way used heretofore by Dominico, and Mevis, in the West Indies, and found the winde to this course indeede as friendly, as in the judgement of all Sea-men, it is upon a more direct line, and by Sir George Summers our Admirall had bin likewise in former time sailed, being a Gentleman of approved assurednesse, and ready knowledge in Sea-faring actions, having often carried command, and chiefe charge in many Ships Royall of her Majesties, and in sundry Voyages made many defeats and

2. June. 1609.

Sea-course altered. [IV. ix. 1735.]

Sir G. Summers a good mariner and tried Souldier.

attempts in the time of the Spaniards quarrelling with us, upon the Ilands and Indies, &c. We had followed this course so long, as now we were within seven or eight dayes at the most, by Cap. Newports reckoning of making Cape Henry upon the coast of Virginia: When on S. James his day, July 24. being Monday (preparing for no lesse all the blacke night before) the cloudes gathering thicke upon us, and the windes singing, and whistling most unusually, which made us to cast off our Pinnace towing the same untill then asterne, a dreadfull storme and hideous began to blow from out the North-east, which swelling, and roaring as it were by fits, some houres with more violence then others, at length did beate all light from heaven; which like an hell of darkenesse turned blacke upon us, so much the more fuller of horror, as in such cases horror and feare use to overrunne the troubled, and overmastered sences of all, which (taken up with amazement) the eares lay so sensible to the terrible cries, and murmurs of the windes, and distraction of our Company, as who was most armed, and best prepared, was not a little shaken. For surely (Noble Lady) as death comes not so sodaine nor apparant, so he comes not so elvish and painfull (to men especially even then in health and perfect habitudes of body) as at Sea; who comes at no time so welcome, but our frailty (so weake is the hold of hope in miserable demonstrations of danger) it makes guilty of many contrary changes, and conflicts: For indeede death is accompanied at no time, nor place with circumstances every way so uncapable of particularities of goodnesse and inward comforts, as at Sea. For it is most true, there ariseth commonly no such unmercifull tempest, compound of so many contrary and divers Nations, but that it worketh upon the whole frame of the body, and most loathsomely affecteth all the powers thereof: and the manner of the sicknesse it laies upon the body, being so unsufferable, gives not the minde any free and quiet time, to use her judgement and Empire: which made the Poet say:

A terrible storme expressed in a patheticall and retoricall description.

Black-darknes.

Feare of death at Sea more fearefull.

Hostium uxores, puerique cæcos
Sentiant motus orientis Hædi, &
Æquoris nigri fremitum, & trementes
Verbere ripas.

Continuance and increase.

For foure and twenty houres the storme in a restlesse tumult, had blowne so exceedingly, as we could not apprehend in our imaginations any possibility of greater violence, yet did wee still finde it, not onely more terrible, but more constant, fury added to fury, and one storme urging a second more outragious then the former; whether it so wrought upon our feares, or indeede met with new forces: Sometimes strikes in our Ship amongst women, and passengers, not used to such hurly and discomforts, made us looke one upon the other with troubled hearts, and panting bosomes: our clamours dround in the windes, and the windes in thunder. Prayers might well be in the heart and lips, but drowned in the outcries of the Officers: nothing heard that could give comfort, nothing seene that might incourage hope. It is impossible for me, had I the voyce of Stentor, and expression of as many tongues, as his throate of voyces, to expresse the outcries and miseries, not languishing, but wasting his spirits, and art constant to his owne principles, but not prevailing. Our sailes wound up lay without their use, and if at any time wee bore but a Hollocke, or halfe forecourse, to guide her before the Sea, six and sometimes eight men were not inough to hold the whipstaffe in the steerage, and the tiller below in the Gunner roome, by which may be imagined the strength of the storme: In which, the Sea swelled above the Clouds, and gave battell unto Heaven. It could not be said to raine, the waters like whole Rivers did flood in the ayre. And this I did still observe, that whereas upon the Land, when a storme hath powred it selfe forth once in drifts of raine, the winde as beaten downe, and vanquished therewith, not long after indureth: here the glut of water (as if throatling the winde ere while) was no sooner a little emptied and qualified, but instantly the windes (as having gotten their mouthes now free, and

Swelling Sea set forth in a swelling stile.

Compared with the Authors former experiments.

at liberty) spake more loud, and grew more tumultuous, and malignant. What shall I say? Windes and Seas were as mad, as fury and rage could make them; for mine owne part, I had bin in some stormes before, as well upon the coast of Barbary and Algeere, in the Levant, and once more distressfull in the Adriatique gulfe, in a bottome of Candy, so as I may well say. Ego quid sit ater Adriæ novi sinus, & quid albus Peccet Iapex. Yet all that I had ever suffered gathered together, might not hold comparison with this: there was not a moment in which the sodaine splitting, or instant over-setting of the Shippe was not expected.

Leake added to the stormes terrour.

Howbeit this was not all; It pleased God to bring a greater affliction yet upon us; for in the beginning of the storme we had received likewise a mighty leake. And the Ship in every joynt almost, having spued out her Okam, before we were aware (a casualty more desperate then any other that a Voyage by Sea draweth with it) was growne five foote suddenly deepe with water above her ballast, and we almost drowned within, whilest we sat looking when to perish from above. This imparting no lesse terrour then danger, ranne through the whole Ship with much fright and amazement, startled and turned the bloud, and tooke downe the braves of the most hardy Marriner of them all, insomuch as he that before happily felt not the sorrow of others, now began to sorrow for himselfe, when he saw such a pond of water so suddenly broken in, and which he knew could not (without present avoiding) but instantly sinke him. So as joyning (onely for his owne sake, not yet worth the saving) in the publique safety; there might be seene Master, Masters Mate, Boateswaine, Quarter Master, Coopers, Carpenters, and who not, with candels in their hands, creeping along the ribs viewing the sides, searching every corner, and listening in every place, if they could heare the water runne. Many a weeping leake was this way found, and hastily stopt, and at length one in the Gunner roome made up with I know not how many peeces of Beefe:

[IV. ix. 1736.]

but all was to no purpose, the Leake (if it were but one) which drunke in our greatest Seas, and tooke in our destruction fastest, could not then be found, nor ever was, by any labour, counsell, or search. The waters still increasing, and the Pumpes going, which at length choaked with bringing up whole and continuall Bisket (and indeede all we had, tenne thousand weight) it was conceived, as most likely, that the Leake might be sprung in the Bread-roome, whereupon the Carpenter went downe, and ript up all the roome, but could not finde it so.

Leake cannot be found, which cannot but be found.

I am not able to give unto your Ladiship every mans thought in this perplexity, to which we were now brought; but to me, this Leakage appeared as a wound given to men that were before dead. The Lord knoweth, I had as little hope, as desire of life in the storme, & in this, it went beyond my will; because beyond my reason, why we should labour to preserve life; yet we did, either because so deare are a few lingring houres of life in all mankinde, or that our Christian knowledges taught us, how much we owed to the rites of Nature, as bound, not to be false to our selves, or to neglect the meanes of our owne preservation; the most despairefull things amongst men, being matters of no wonder nor moment with him, who is the rich Fountaine and admirable Essence of all mercy.

Our Governour, upon the tuesday morning (at what time, by such who had bin below in the hold, the Leake was first discovered) had caused the whole Company, about one hundred and forty, besides women, to be equally divided into three parts, and opening the Ship in three places (under the forecastle, in the waste, and hard by the Bitacke) appointed each man where to attend; and thereunto every man came duely upon his watch, tooke the Bucket, or Pumpe for one houre, and rested another. Then men might be seene to labour, I may well say, for life, and the better sort, even our Governour, and Admirall themselves, not refusing their turne, and to spell each the other, to give example to other. The common sort

Their labour for life three dayes and foure nights.

stripped naked, as men in Gallies, the easier both to hold out, and to shrinke from under the salt water, which continually leapt in among them, kept their eyes waking, and their thoughts and hands working, with tyred bodies, and wasted spirits, three dayes and foure nights destitute of outward comfort, and desperate of any deliverance, testifying how mutually willing they were, yet by labour to keepe each other from drowning, albeit each one drowned whilest he laboured.

Sea breakes in. Once, so huge a Sea brake upon the poope and quarter, upon us, as it covered our Shippe from stearne to stemme, like a garment or a vast cloude, it filled her brimme full for a while within, from the hatches up to the sparre decke. This source or confluence of water was so violent, as it rusht and carried the Helm-man from the Helme, and wrested the Whip-staffe out of his hand, which so flew from side to side, that when he would have ceased the same againe, it so tossed him from Star-boord to Lar-boord, as it was Gods mercy it had not split him: It so beat him from his hold, and so bruised him, as a fresh man hazarding in by chance fell faire with it, and by maine strength bearing somewhat up, made good his place, and with much clamour incouraged and called upon others; who gave her now up, rent in pieces and absolutely lost.

The Governours care. Our Governour was at this time below at the Capstone, both by his speech and authoritie heartening every man unto his labour. It strooke him from the place where hee sate, and groveled him, and all us about him on our faces, beating together with our breaths all thoughts from our bosomes, else, then that wee were now sinking. For my part, I thought her alreadie in the bottome of the Sea; and I have heard him say, wading out of the floud thereof, all his ambition was but to climbe up above hatches to dye in Aperto cœlo, and in the company of his old friends.

Remora is fabled to be a small fish able to withstand a Shippe in her course. It so stun'd the ship in her full pace, that shee stirred no more, then if shee had beene caught in a net, or then, as if the fabulous Remora had stucke to her fore-castle. Yet without bearing one inch of saile, even then shee was

making her way nine or ten leagues in a watch. One thing, it is not without his wonder (whether it were the feare of death in so great a storme, or that it pleased God to be gracious unto us) there was not a passenger, gentleman, or other, after hee beganne to stirre and labour, but was able to relieve his fellow, and make good his course: And it is most true, such as in all their life times had never done houres worke before (their mindes now helping their bodies) were able twice fortie eight houres together to toile with the best.

God inableth whom he will save to save themselves.

During all this time, the heavens look'd so blacke upon us, that it was not possible the elevation of the Pole might be observed: nor a Starre by night, not Sunne beame by day was to be seene. Onely upon the thursday night Sir George Summers being upon the watch, had an apparition of a little round light, like a faint Starre, trembling, and streaming along with a sparkeling blaze, halfe the height upon the Maine Mast, and shooting sometimes from Shroud to Shroud, tempting to settle as it were upon any of the foure Shrouds: and for three or foure houres together, or rather more, halfe the night it kept with us; running sometimes along the Maine-yard to the very end, and then returning. At which, Sir George Summers called divers about him, and shewed them the same, who observed it with much wonder, and carefulnesse: but upon a sodaine, towards the morning watch, they lost the sight of it, and knew not what way it made. The superstitious Sea-men make many constructions of this Sea-fire, which neverthelesse is usuall in stormes: the same (it may be) which the Græcians were wont in the Mediterranean to call Castor and Pollux, of which, if one onely appeared without the other, they tooke it for an evill signe of great tempest. The Italians, and such, who lye open to the Adriatique and Tyrrene Sea, call it (a sacred Body) Corpo sancto: the Spaniards call it Saint Elmo, and have an authentique and miraculous Legend for it. Be it what it will, we laid other foundations of safety or ruine, then in the rising or falling of it, could it have served us now

[IV. ix. 1737.]

Utter darknes.

Light on the Shrouds.

See Tom. 1. *l.* 9. *c.* 12. §. 1.

miraculously to have taken our height by, it might have strucken amazement, and a reverence in our devotions, according to the due of a miracle. But it did not light us any whit the more to our knowne way, who ran now (as doe hoodwinked men) at all adventures, sometimes North, and North-east, then North and by West, and in an instant againe varying two or three points, and sometimes halfe the Compasse. East and by South we steered away as much as we could to beare upright, which was no small carefulnesse nor paine to doe, albeit we much unrigged our Ship, threw over-boord much luggage, many a Trunke and Chest (in which I suffered no meane losse) and staved many a Butt of Beere, Hogsheads of Oyle, Syder, Wine, and Vinegar, and heaved away all our Ordnance on the Starboord side, and had now purposed to have cut downe the Maine Mast, the more to lighten her, for we were much spent, and our men so weary, as their strengths together failed them, with their hearts, having travailed now from Tuesday till Friday morning, day and night, without either sleepe or foode; for the leakeage taking up all the hold, wee could neither come by Beere nor fresh water; fire we could keepe none in the Cooke-roome to dresse any meate, and carefulnesse, griefe, and our turne at the Pumpe or Bucket, were sufficient to hold sleepe from our eyes.

No sleepe or food from tuesday till friday.

And surely Madam, it is most true, there was not any houre (a matter of admiration) all these dayes, in which we freed not twelve hundred Barricos of water, the least whereof contained six gallons, and some eight, besides three deepe Pumpes continually going, two beneath at the Capstone, and the other above in the halfe Decke, and at each Pumpe foure thousand stroakes at the least in a watch; so as I may well say, every foure houres, we quitted one hundred tunnes of water: and from tuesday noone till friday noone, we bailed and pumped two thousand tunne, and yet doe what we could, when our Ship held least in her, (after tuesday night second watch) shee bore ten foote deepe, at which stay our extreame

1200. *Barricos an houre, besides* 3. *Pumps, acquitting* 100 *tuns of water every* 4. *houres.*

working kept her one eight glasses, forbearance whereof had instantly sunke us, and it being now Friday, the fourth morning, it wanted little, but that there had bin a generall determination, to have shut up hatches, and commending our sinfull soules to God, committed the Shippe to the mercy of the Sea: surely, that night we must have done it, and that night had we then perished: but see the goodnesse and sweet introduction of better hope, by our mercifull God given unto us. Sir George Summers, when no man dreamed of such happinesse, had discovered, and cried Land. Indeede the morning now three quarters spent, had wonne a little cleerenesse from the dayes before, and it being better surveyed, the very trees were seene to move with the winde upon the shoare side: whereupon our Governour commanded the Helme-man to beare up, the Boateswaine sounding at the first, found it thirteene fathome, & when we stood a little in seven fatham; and presently heaving his lead the third time, had ground at foure fathome, and by this, we had got her within a mile under the South-east point of the land, where we had somewhat smooth water. But having no hope to save her by comming to an anker in the same, we were inforced to runne her ashoare, as neere the land as we could, which brought us within three quarters of a mile of shoare, and by the mercy of God unto us, making out our Boates, we had ere night brought all our men, women, and children, about the number of one hundred and fifty, safe into the Iland.

Summer Ilands described by Sir George Summers.

They go a land.

We found it to be the dangerous and dreaded Iland, or rather Ilands of the Bermuda: whereof let mee give your Ladyship a briefe description, before I proceed to my narration. And that the rather, because they be so terrible to all that ever touched on them, and such tempests, thunders, and other fearefull objects are seene and heard about them, that they be called commonly, The Devils Ilands, and are feared and avoyded of all sea travellers alive, above any other place in the world. Yet it pleased our mercifull God, to make even this hideous and hated

Bermuda Ilands supposed the Divels, &c.

place, both the place of our safetie, and meanes of our deliverance.

And hereby also, I hope to deliver the world from a foule and generall errour: it being counted of most, that they can be no habitation for Men, but rather given over to Devils and wicked Spirits; whereas indeed wee find them now by experience, to bee as habitable and commodious as most Countries of the same climate and situation: insomuch as if the entrance into them were as easie as the place it selfe is contenting, it had long ere this beene inhabited, as well as other Ilands. Thus shall we make it appeare, That Truth is the daughter of Time, and that men ought not to deny every thing which is not subject to their owne sense.

[IV. ix. 1738.]

Bermuda Ilands described.

The Bermudas bee broken Ilands, five hundred of them in manner of an Archipelagus (at least if you may call them all Ilands that lie, how little soever into the Sea, and by themselves) of small compasse, some larger yet then other, as time and the Sea hath wonne from them, and eaten his passage through, and all now lying in the figure of a Croissant, within the circuit of sixe or seven leagues at the most, albeit at first it is said of them that they were thirteene or fourteene leagues; and more in longitude as I have heard. For no greater distance is it from the Northwest Point to Gates his Bay, as by this Map your Ladyship may see, in which Sir George Summers, who coasted in his Boat about them all, tooke great care to expresse the same exactly and full, and made his draught perfect for all good occasions, and the benefit of such, who either in distresse might be brought upon them, or make saile this way.

Sir George Summers diligent survey: his draught which we have not. M. Norgate hath since published an exact Map.

It should seeme by the testimony of Gonzalus Ferdinandus Oviedus, in his Booke intituled, The Summary or Abridgement of his generall History of the West Indies, written to the Emperor Charles the Fift, that they have beene indeed of greater compasse (and I easily beleeve it) then they are now, who thus saith: In the yeere 1515. when I came first to informe your Majesty

of the state of the things in India, and was the yeere following in Flanders, in the time of your most fortunate successe in these your kingdomes of Aragony and Casteel, whereas at that voyage I sayled above the Iland Bermudas, otherwise called Gorza, being the farthest of all the Ilands that are yet found at this day in the world, and arriving there at the depth of eight yards * of water, and distant from the Land as farre as the shot of a Peece of Ordnance, I determined to send some of the ship to Land, as well to make search of such things as were there, as also to leave in the Iland certaine Hogges for increase, but the time not serving my purpose, by reason of contrary winde I could bring my Ships no neerer: the Iland being twelve leagues in length, and sixteene in breadth, and about thirtie in circuit, lying in the thirtie three degrees of the North side. Thus farre hee.

True it is, the maine Iland, or greatest of them now, may bee some sixteene miles in length East North-east, and West South-west the longest part of it, standing in thirtie two degrees and twentie minutes, in which is a great Bay on the North side, in the North-west end, and many broken Ilands in that Sound or Bay, and a little round Iland at the South-west end. As occasions were offered, so we gave titles and names to certaine places.

These Ilands are often afflicted and rent with tempests, great strokes of thunder, lightning and raine in the extreamity of violence: which (and it may well bee) hath so sundred and torne downe the Rockes, and whurried whole quarters of Ilands into the maine Sea (some sixe, some seven leagues, and is like in time to swallow them all) so as even in that distance from the shoare there is no small danger of them and with them, of the stormes continually raging from them, which once in the full and change commonly of every Moone (Winter or Summer) keepe their unchangeable round, and rather thunder then blow from every corner about them, sometimes fortie

**Or fadams braccia. In his Gen. hist. li. 2. c. 9. he reciteth the same historie more particularly he saith it hath two names, Garza, of the ship which first discovered it, being so called, and Bermudez of the Captain of that ship, named John Bermudes. Note that he placeth it more to the North, then that which is by ours inhabited, & say somtime they see it, sometime not as they passe. The Spaniards (as I have heard) which were wracked there in Cap. Butlers time, were of opinion that ours are not the Bermudas: Yea some of ours affirme, they have seen such an Iland to the North of ours, and have offered to discover it; sub judice lis est; veritas temporis filia.*

Halo, the circle seen about the Moon, of great compasse.

eight houres together: especially if the circle, which the Philosophers call Halo were (in our being there) seene about the Moone at any season, which bow indeed appeared there often, and would bee of a mightie compasse and breadth. I have not observed it any where one quarter so great, especially about the twentieth of March, I saw the greatest when followed upon the eves eve of the Annuntiation of our Ladie, the mightiest blast of lightning, and most terrible rap of thunder that ever astonied mortall men, I thinke. In August, September, and untill the end of October, wee had very hot and pleasant weather onely (as I say) thunder, lightning, and many scattering showers of Raine (which would passe swiftly over, and yet fall with such force and darknesse for the time as if it would never bee cleere againe) wee wanted not any; and of raine more in Summer then in Winter, and in the beginning of December wee had great store of hayle (the sharpe windes blowing Northerly) but it continued not, and to say truth, it is wintry or summer weather there, according as those North and North-west windes blow. Much taste of this kind of Winter wee had; for those cold windes would suddenly alter the ayre: but when there was no breath of wind to bring the moyst ayre out of the Seas, from the North and North-west, wee were rather weary of the heate, then pinched with extreamitie of cold: Yet the three Winter moneths, December, January, and February, the winds kept in those cold corners, and indeed then it was heavy and melancholy being there, nor were the winds more rough in March, then in the foresaid moneths, and yet even then would the Birds breed. I thinke they bredde there, most monethes in the yeere, in September, and at Christmasse I saw young Birds, and in Februarie, at which time the mornings are there (as in May in England) fresh and sharpe.

Well may the Spaniards, and these Biscani Pilots, with all their Traders into the Indies, passe by these Ilands as afraid (either bound out or homewards) of their very

Meridian, and leave the fishing for the Pearle (which some say, and I beleeve well is as good there, as in any of their other Indian Ilands, and whereof we had some triall) to such as will adventure for them. The Seas about them are so ful of breaches, as with those dangers, they may wel be said to be the strongest situate in the world. I have often heard Sir George Summers, and Captaine Newport say, how they have not beene by any chance or discovery upon their like. It is impossible without great and perfect knowledge, and search first made of them to bring in a bable Boat, so much as of ten Tun without apparant ruine, albeit within there are many faire harbours for the greatest English Ship: yea, the Argasies of Venice may ride there with water enough, and safe land-lockt. There is one onely side that admits so much as hope of safetie by many a league, on which (as before described) it pleased God to bring us, wee had not come one man of us else a shoare, as the weather was: they have beene ever therefore left desolate and not inhabited. [IV. ix. 1739.]

Experience hath better shewed since, as we after see, both for fruits, wormes, &c. those that dwell there finding more then these, which tooke there Inne or lodging. Yet the dawning & Aurora yeeld a delightsome light, though not all so certaine as the Sun: for which cause I have not omitted these first discoveries.

The soile of the whole Iland is one and the same, the mould, dark, red, sandie, dry, and uncapable I beleeve of any of our commodities or fruits. Sir George Summers in the beginning of August, squared out a Garden by the quarter, the quarter being set downe before a goodly Bay, upon which our Governour did first leape ashoare, and therefore called it (as aforesaid) Gates his Bay, which opened into the East, and into which the Sea did ebbe and flow, according to their tides, and sowed Muske Melons, Pease, Onyons, Raddish, Lettice, and many English seeds, and Kitchen Herbes. All which in some ten daies did appeare above ground, but whether by the small Birds, of which there be many kindes, or by Flies (Wormes I never saw any, nor any venomous thing, as Toade, or Snake, or any creeping beast hurtfull, onely some Spiders, which as many affirme are signes of great store of Gold: but they were long and slender legge Spiders, and whether venomous or no I know not; I beleeve not, since wee should still find them

Spiders.

amongst our linnen in our Chests, and drinking Cans; but we never received any danger from them: A kind of Melontha, or blacke Beetell there was, which bruised, gave a savour like many sweet and strong gums punned together) whether, I say, hindred by these, or by the condition or vice of the soyle they came to no proofe, nor thrived. It is like enough that the commodities of the other Westerne Ilands would prosper there, as Vines, Lemmons, Oranges, and Sugar Canes: Our Governour made triall of the later, and buried some two or three in the Garden mould, which were reserved in the wracke amongst many which wee carried to plant here in Virginia, and they beganne to grow, but the Hogs breaking in, both rooted them up and eate them: there is not through the whole Ilands, either Champion ground, Valleys, or fresh Rivers. They are full of Shawes of goodly Cedar, fairer then ours here of Virginia: the Berries, whereof our men seething, straining, and letting stand some three or foure daies, made a kind of pleasant drinke: these Berries are of the same bignesse, and collour of Corynthes, full of little stones, and verie restringent or hard building. Peter Martin saith, That at Alexandria in Egypt there is a kind of Cedar, which the Jewes dwelling there, affirme to be the Cedars of Libanus, which beare old fruite and new all the yeere, being a kinde of Apple which tast like Prunes: but then, neither those there in the Bermudas, nor ours here in Virginia are of that happy kind.

Beetle very sweet.

Hogs.

Cedars.

Cedar-drinke.

American Cedars, are not the same kind with those of Libanus, as by the historie of them in our former Tome, pag. 1500. &c.

Likewise there grow great store of Palme Trees, not the right Indian Palmes, such as in Saint John Port-Rico are called Cocos, and are there full of small fruites like Almonds (of the bignesse of the graines in Pomgranates) nor of those kind of Palmes which beares Dates, but a kind of Simerons or wild Palmes in growth, fashion, leaves, and branches, resembling those true Palmes: for the Tree is high, and straight, sappy and spongious, unfirme for any use, no branches but in the uppermost part thereof, and in the top grow leaves about the head of it (the most inmost part whereof they call Palmeto,

Palmetos.

Many sorts of Palmes, the Coco, the Date-Palme, the Wine-Palme, or tadie, &c. besides these Reed-Palmes.

and it is the heart and pith of the same Trunke, so white and thin, as it will peele off into pleates as smooth and delicate as white Sattin into twentie folds, in which a man may write as in paper) where they spread and fall downward about the Tree like an overblowne Rose, or Saffron flower not early gathered; so broad are the leaves, as an Italian Umbrello, a man may well defend his whole body under one of them, from the greatest storme raine that falls. For they being stiffe and smooth, as if so many flagges were knit together, the raine easily slideth off. Wee oftentimes found growing to these leaves, many Silk-wormes involved therein, like those small wormes which Acosta writeth of, which grew in the leaves of the Tunall Tree, of which being dried, the Indians make their Cochinile so precious and marchantable. With these leaves we thatched our Cabbins, and roasting the Palmito or soft top thereof, they had a taste like fried Melons, and being sod they eate like Cabbedges, but not so offensively thankefull to the stomacke. Many an ancient Burger was therefore heaved at, and fell not for his place, but for his head: for our common people, whose bellies never had eares, made it no breach of Charitie in their hot blouds and tall stomackes to murder thousands of them. They beare a kind of Berry, blacke and round, as bigge as a Damson, which about December were ripe and luscious: being scalded (whilest they are greene) they eate like Bullases. These Trees shed their leaves in the Winter moneths, as withered or burnt with the cold blasts of the North winde, especially those that grow to the Seaward, and in March, there Burgen new in their roome fresh and tender. *Silke-wormes.*

Other kindes of high and sweet smelling Woods there bee, and divers colours, blacke, yellow, and red, and one which beares a round blew Berry, much eaten by our owne people, of a stiptick qualitie and rough taste on the tongue like a Slow to stay or binde the Fluxe, which the often eating of the luscious Palme berry would bring them into, for the nature of sweet things is to clense and dis- *Other trees.*

solve. A kinde of Pease of the bignesse and shape of a Katherine Peare, wee found growing upon the Rockes full of many sharpe subtill prickes (as a Thistle) which wee *Prickle-peare.* therefore called, The Prickle Peare, the outside greene, but being opened, of a deepe murrie, full of juyce like a Mulberry, and just of the same substance and taste, wee both eate them raw and baked.

Waters. No Springs then found, since Wells have bin there digged which ebbe and flow with the Sea. &c.

Sure it is, that there are no Rivers nor running Springs of fresh water to bee found upon any of them: when wee came first wee digged and found certaine gushings and soft bublings, which being either in bottoms, or on the side of hanging ground, were onely fed with raine water, which neverthelesse soone sinketh into the earth and vanisheth away, or emptieth it selfe out of sight into the Sea, without any channell above or upon the superficies of the earth: for according as their raines fell, we had our Wels and Pits (which we digged) either halfe full, or absolute exhausted and dry, howbeit some low bottoms (which the continuall descent from the Hills filled full, and in those flats could have no passage away) we found to continue as fishing Ponds, or standing Pooles, continually Summer and Winter full of fresh water.

Fish.

The shoare and Bayes round about, when wee landed first afforded great store of fish, and that of divers kindes, and good, but it should seeme that our fiers, which wee maintained on the shoares side drave them from us, so as wee were in some want, untill wee had made a flat bottome Gundall of Cedar with which wee put off farther into the Sea, and then daily hooked great store of many kindes, as excellent Angell-fish, Salmon Peale, Bonetas, Stingray, Cabally, Scnappers, Hogge-fish, Sharkes, Dogge-fish, Pilcherds, Mullets, and Rock-fish, of which bee divers kindes: and of these our Governour dryed and salted, and barrelling them up, brought to sea five hundred, for *Salt made there.* he had procured Salt to bee made with some Brine, which happily was preserved, and once having made a little quantity, he kept three or foure pots boyling, and two or three men attending nothing else in an house (some little

distance from his Bay) set up on purpose for the same worke.

Likewise in Furbushers building Bay wee had a large Sein, or Tramell Net, which our Governour caused to be made of the Deere Toyles, which wee were to carry to Virginia, by drawing the Masts more straight and narrow with Roape Yarne, and which reached from one side of the Dock to the other: with which (I may boldly say) wee have taken five thousand of small and great fish at one hale. As Pilchards, Breames, Mullets, Rocke-fish, &c. and other kindes for which wee have no names. Wee have taken also from under the broken Rockes, Crevises oftentimes greater then any of our best English Lobsters; and likewise abundance of Crabbes, Oysters, and Wilkes. True it is, for Fish in everie Cove and Creeke wee found Snaules, and Skulles in that abundance, as (I thinke) no Iland in the world may have greater store or better Fish. For they sucking of the very water, which descendeth from the high Hills mingled with juyce and verdor of the Palmes, Cedars, and other sweet Woods (which likewise make the Herbes, Roots, and Weeds sweet which grow about the Bankes) become thereby both fat and wholsome. As must those Fish needes bee grosse, slimy, and corrupt the bloud, which feed in Fennes, Marishes, Ditches, muddy Pooles, and neere unto places where much filth is daily cast forth. Unscaled Fishes, such as Junius calleth Molles Pisces, as Trenches, Eele, or Lampries, and such feculent and dangerous Snakes wee never saw any, nor may any River bee invenomed with them (I pray God) where I come. I forbeare to speake what a sort of Whales wee have seene hard aboard the shoare followed sometime by the Sword-fish and the Thresher, the sport whereof was not unpleasant. The Sword-fish, with his sharpe and needle Finne, pricking him into the belly when hee would sinke and fall into the Sea; and when hee startled upward from his wounds, the Thresher with his large Fins (like Flayles) beating him above water. The examples whereof gives us (saith Oviedus) to understand, that in the

5000. fishes taken at a hale.

Cause of their wholsomnesse.

No unscaled fishes.

Whale and Sword-fish.

Cater-tray beare the bell away. Medio sutisimus ibis.

selfe same perill and danger doe men live in this mortall life, wherein is no certaine security neither in high estate nor low.

Fowles. Fowle there is great store, small Birds, Sparrowes fat and plumpe like a Bunting, bigger then ours, Robbins of divers colours greene and yellow, ordinary and familiar in our Cabbins, and other of lesse sort. White and gray Hernshawes, Bitters, Teale, Snites, Crowes, and Hawkes, of which in March wee found divers Ayres, Goshawkes and Tassells, Oxen-birds, Cormorants, Bald-Cootes, Moore-Hennes, Owles, and Battes in great store. And upon New-yeeres day in the morning, our Governour being walked foorth with another Gentleman Master *Wild Swans.* James Swift, each of them with their Peeces killed a wild Swanne, in a great Sea-water Bay or Pond in our Iland. *Web-footed Fowle.* A kinde of webbe-footed Fowle there is, of the bignesse of an English greene Plover, or Sea-Meawe, which all the Summer wee saw not, and in the darkest nights of November and December (for in the night they onely feed) *They call it of the cry which it maketh a Cohow.* they would come forth, but not flye farre from home, and hovering in the ayre, and over the Sea, made a strange hollow and harsh howling. Their colour is inclining to Russet, with white bellies, (as are likewise the long Feathers of their wings Russet and White) these gather themselves together and breed in those Ilands which are high, and so farre alone into the Sea, that the Wilde [IV. ix. 1741.] Hogges cannot swimme over them, and there in the ground they have their Burrowes, like Conyes in a Warren, and so brought in the loose Mould, though not so deepe: which Birds with a light bough in a darke night (as in our Lowbelling) wee caught. I have beene at the taking of three hundred in an houre, and wee might have laden our Boates. Our men found a prettie way to take them, which was by standing on the Rockes or Sands by the Sea side, and hollowing, laughing, and making the strangest out-cry that possibly they could: with the noyse whereof the Birds would come flocking to that place, and settle upon the very armes and head of him that so cryed,

and still creepe neerer and neerer, answering the noyse themselves: by which our men would weigh them with their hand, and which weighed heaviest they tooke for the best and let the others alone, and so our men would take twentie dozen in two houres of the chiefest of them; and they were a good and well relished Fowle, fat and full as a Partridge. In January wee had great store of their Egges, which are as great as an Hennes Egge, and so fashioned and white shelled, and have no difference in yolke nor white from an Hennes Egge. There are thousands of these Birds, and two or three Ilands full of their Burrowes, whether at any time (in two houres warning) wee could send our Cock-boat, and bring home as many as would serve the whole Company: which Birds for their blindnesse (for they see weakly in the day) and for their cry and whooting, wee called the Sea Owle: they will bite cruelly with their crooked Bills.

Wild Hogges how first found out and taken.

Wee had knowledge that there were wilde Hogges upon the Iland, at first by our owne Swine preserved from the wrack and brought to shoare: for they straying into the Woods, an huge wilde Boare followed downe to our quarter, which at night was watched and taken in this sort. One of Sir George Summers men went and lay among the Swine, when the Boare being come and groveled by the Sowes, hee put over his hand and rubbed the side gently of the Boare, which then lay still, by which meanes hee fastned a rope with a sliding knot to the hinder legge and so tooke him, and after him in this sort two or three more. But in the end (a little businesse over) our people would goe a hunting with our Ship Dogge, and sometimes bring home thirtie, sometimes fiftie Boares, Sowes, and Pigs in a weeke alive: for the Dog would fasten on them and hold, whilest the Hunts-men made in: and there bee thousands of them in the Ilands, and at that time of the yeere, in August, September, October, and November, they were well fed with Berries that dropped from the Cedars and the Palmes, and in our quarter wee made styes for them, and gathering of these Berries served

them twice aday, by which meanes we kept them in good plight: and when there was any fret of weather (for upon every increase of wind the billow would be so great, as it was no putting out with our Gundall or Canow) that we could not fish nor take Tortoyses, then wee killed our Hogs. But in February when the Palme Berries began to be scant or dry, and the Cedar Berries failed two moneths sooner; true it is the Hogs grew poore, and being taken so, wee could not raise them to be better, for besides those Berries, we had nothing wherewith to franke them: but even then the Tortoyses came in againe, of which wee daily both turned up great store, finding them on Land, as also sculling after them in our Boate strooke them with an Iron goad, and sod, baked, and roasted them.

Tortoises. The Tortoyse is reasonable toothsom (some say) wholsome meate. I am sure our Company liked the meate of them verie well, and one Tortoyse would goe further amongst them, then three Hogs. One Turtle (for so we called them) feasted well a dozen Messes, appointing sixe to every Messe. It is such a kind of meat, as a man can neither absolutely call Fish nor Flesh, keeping most what in the water, and feeding upon Sea-grasse like a Heifer, in the bottome of the Coves and Bayes, and laying their Egges (of which wee should finde five hundred at a time in the opening of a shee Turtle) in the Sand by the shoare side, and so covering them close leave them to the hatching of the Sunne, like the Manati at Saint Dominique, which made the Spanish Friars (at their first arrivall) make some scruple to eate them on a Friday, because in colour and taste the flesh is like to morsells of Veale. Concerning the laying of their Egges, and hatching of their young, Peter Martyr writeth thus in his Decades of the Ocean: at such time as the heate of Nature moveth them to generation, they came forth of the Sea, and making a deepe pit in the sand, they lay three or foure hundred Egges therein: when they have thus emptied their bag of Conception, they put as much of the same againe into the Pit as may satisfie to cover the Egges, and so resort

againe unto the Sea, nothing carefull of their succession. At the day appointed of Nature to the procreation of these creatures, there creepeth out a multitude of Tortoyses, as it were Pismyers out of an Ant-hill, and this only by the heate of the Sunne, without any helpe of their Parents: their Egges are as big as Geese Egges, and themselves growne to perfection, bigger then great round Targets.

§. II.

[IV. ix. 1742.]

Actions and Occurrents whiles they continued in the Ilands: Ravens sent for Virginia; Divers mutinies; Paine executed: Two Pinnaces built.

SO soone as wee were a little setled after our landing, with all the conveniencie wee might, and as the place, and our many wants would give us leave, wee made up our long Boate (as your Ladyship hath heard) in fashion of a Pinnace, fitting her with a little Deck, made of the Hatches of our ruin'd ship, so close that no water could goe in her, gave her Sayles and Oares, and intreating with our Masters Mate Henry Ravens (who was supposed a sufficient Pilot) wee found him easily wonne to make over therewith, as a Barke of Aviso for Virginia, which being in the height of thirtie seven degrees, five degrees from the Iland which we were, might bee some one hundred and fortie leagues from us, or thereabouts (reckoning to every degree that lies North-east, and Westerly twentie eight English leagues) who the twentie eight of August being Munday, with sixe Saylers, and our Cape Merchant Thomas Whittingham departed from us out of Gates his Bay: but to our much wonder returned againe upon the Wednesday night after, having attempted to have got cleere of the Iland, from the North North-east to the South-west, but could not as little water as shee drew, (which might not bee above twentie inches) for shoales and breaches, so as he was faine to go out

H. Ravens voyage from Bermuda to Virginia.

from Summers Creeks, and the same way we came in on the South South-east of the Ilands, and from thence wee made to Sea the Friday after the first of September, promising if hee lived and arrived safe there, to returne unto us the next new Moone with the Pinnace belonging to the Colony there: according unto which instructions were directed unto the new Leiftenant Governour, and Councell from our Governour here, for which the Ilands were appointed carefully to be watched, and fiers prepared as Beacons to have directed and wafted him in, but two Moones were wasted upon the Promontory before mentioned, and gave many a long and wished looke round about the Horizon, from the North-east to the South-west, but in vaine, discovering nothing all the while, which way soever we turned our eye, but ayre and sea.

You may please, excellent Lady, to know the reason which moved our Governour to dispatch this long Boat, was the care which hee tooke for the estate of the Colony in this his inforced absence: for by a long practised experience, foreseeing and fearing what innovation and tumult might happily arise, amongst the younger and ambitious spirits of the new companies to arrive in Virginia, now comming with him along in this same Fleet, hee framed his letters to the Colony, and by a particular Commission confirmed Captaine Peter Win his Lieutenant Governour, with an Assistance of sixe Counsellours, writing withall to divers and such Gentlemen of qualitie and knowledge of vertue, and to such lovers of goodnesse in this cause whom hee knew, intreating them by giving examples in themselves of duty and obedience, to assist likewise the said Lieutenant Governour, against such as should attempt the innovating of the person (now named by him) or forme of government, which in some Articles hee did likewise prescribe unto them: and had faire hopes all should goe well, if these his letters might arrive there, untill such time as either some Ship there (which hee fairely beleeved) might bee moved presently to adventure for him: or that it should please the right honourable,

the Lordes, and the rest of his Majesties Councell in England, to addresse thither the right honourable the Lord Lawar (one of more eminencie and worthinesse) as the project was before his comming forth, whilest by their honourable favours, a charitable consideration in like manner might bee taken of our estates to redeeme us from hence. For which purpose likewise our Governour directed a particular letter to the Councell in England, and sent it to the foresaid Captaine Peter Winne (his now to bee chosen Lieutenant Governour) by him to bee dispatched (which is the first) from thence into England.

Cap. Win. L. Lawarre. Sir George Summers his survay, and other industrie.

In his absence Sir George Summers coasted the Ilands, and drew the former plat of them, and daily fished, and hunted for our whole company, untill the seven and twentieth of November, when then well perceiving that we were not likely to heare from Virginia, and conceiving how the Pinnace which Richard Frubbusher was a building would not be of burthen sufficient to transport all our men from thence into Virginia (especially considering the season of the yeare, wherein we were likely to put off) he consulted with our Governour, that if hee might have two Carpenters (for we had foure, such as they were) and twenty men, over with him into the maine Iland, he would quickly frame up another little Barke, to second ours, for the better fitting and conveiance of our people. Our Governour, with many thankes (as the cause required) cherishing this so carefull and religious consideration in him (and whose experience likewise was somewhat in these affaires) granted him all things sutable to his desire, and to the furthering of the worke: who therefore had made ready for him all such tooles and instruments, as our owne use required not: and for him, were drawne forth twenty of the ablest and stoutest of the company, and the best of our men, to hew and square timber, when himselfe then, with daily paines and labour, wrought upon a small Vessell, which was soone ready as ours: at which wee leave him a while busied, and returne to our selves. In the meane space did one Frubbusher, borne at Graves end, and at his

He builds a Pinnace.

[IV. ix. 1743.]

comming forth now dwelling at Lime House (a painefull and well experienced Shipwright, and skilfull workman) labour the building of a little Pinnace: for the furtherance of which, the Governour dispensed with no travaile of his body, nor forbare any care or study of minde, perswading (as much and more, an ill qualified parcell of people, by his owne performance, then by authority, thereby to hold them at their worke, namely to fell, carry, and sawe Cedar, fit for the Carpenters purpose (for what was so meane, whereto he would not himselfe set his hand, being therefore up earely and downe late?) yet nevertheless were they hardly drawne to it, as the Tortoise to the inchantment, as the Proverbe is, but his owne presence and hand being set to every meane labour, and imployed so readily to every office, made our people at length more diligent, and willing to be called thereunto, where, they should see him before they came. In which, we may observe how much example prevailes above precepts, and how readier men are to be led by eyes, then eares.

R. Frubbusher builds another.

Power of example.

And sure it was happy for us, who had now runne this fortune, and were fallen into the bottome of this misery, that we both had our Governour with us, and one so solicitous and carefull, whose both example (as I said) and authority, could lay shame, and command upon our people: else, I am perswaded, we had most of us finished our dayes there, so willing were the major part of the common sort (especially when they found such a plenty of victuals) to settle a foundation of ever inhabiting there; as well appeared by many practises of theirs (and perhaps of some of the better sort) Loe, what are our affections and passions, if not rightly squared? how irreligious, and irregular they expresse us? not perhaps so ill as we would be, but yet as wee are; some dangerous and secret discontents nourished amongst us, had like to have bin the parents of bloudy issues and mischiefes; they began first in the Sea-men, who in time had fastened unto them (by false baits) many of our land-men likewise, and some of whom (for opinion of their Religion) was carried an extra-

Mutinous conceptions.

ordinary and good respect. The Angles wherewith chiefely they thus hooked in these disquieted Pooles, were, how that in Virginia, nothing but wretchednesse and labour must be expected, with many wants, and a churlish intreaty, there being neither that Fish, Flesh, nor Fowle, which here (without wasting on the one part, or watching on theirs, or any threatning, and are of authority) at ease, and pleasure might be injoyed: and since both in the one, and the other place, they were (for the time) to loose the fruition both of their friends and Countrey, as good, and better were it for them, to repose and seate them where they should have the least outward wants the while. This, thus preached, and published each to other, though by such who never had bin more onward towards Virginia, then (before this Voyage) a Sculler could happily rowe him (and what hath a more adamantive power to draw unto it the consent and attraction of the idle, untoward, and wretched number of the many, then liberty, and fulnesse of sensuality?) begat such a murmur, and such a discontent, and disunion of hearts and hands from this labour, and forwarding the meanes of redeeming us from hence, as each one wrought with his Mate how to divorse him from the same.

Conspiracy.

And first (and it was the first of September) a conspiracy was discovered, of which six were found principals, who had promised each unto the other, not to set their hands to any travaile or endeavour which might expedite or forward this Pinnace: and each of these had severally (according to appointment) sought his opportunity to draw the Smith, and one of our Carpenters, Nicholas Bennit, who made much profession of Scripture, a mutinous and dissembling Imposter; the Captaine, and one of the chiefe perswaders of others, who afterwards brake from the society of the Colony, and like outlawes retired into the Woods, to make a settlement and habitation there, on their party, with whom they purposed to leave our Quarter, and possesse another Iland by themselves: but this happily found out, they were condemned to the same

punishment which they would have chosen (but without Smith or Carpenter) and to an Iland farre by it selfe, they were carried, and there left. Their names were John Want, the chiefe of them, an Essex man of Newport by Saffronwalden, both seditious, and a sectary in points of Religion, in his owne prayers much devout and frequent, but hardly drawne to the publique, insomuch as being suspected by our Minister for a Brownist, he was often compelled to the common Liturgie and forme of Prayer. The rest of the confederates were Christopher Carter, Francis Pearepoint, William Brian, William Martin, Richard Knowles: but soone they missed comfort (who were farre removed from our store) besides, the society of their acquaintance had wrought in some of them, if not a loathsomenesse of their offence, yet a sorrow that their complement was not more full, and therefore a wearinesse of their being thus untimely prescribed; insomuch, as many humble petitions were sent unto our Governor, fraught full of their seeming sorrow and repentance, and earnest vowes to redeeme the former trespasse, with example of dueties in them all, to the common cause, and generall businesse; upon which our Governour (not easie to admit any accusation, and hard to remit an offence, but at all times sorry in the punishment of him, in whom may appeare either shame or contrition) was easily content to reacknowledge them againe.

John Want, Carter, and others exiled and pardoned.

[IV. ix. 1744.] Yet could not this be any warning to others, who more subtilly began to shake the foundation of our quiet safety, and therein did one Stephen Hopkins commence the first act or overture: A fellow who had much knowledge in the Scriptures, and could reason well therein, whom our Minister therefore chose to be his Clarke, to reade the Psalmes, and Chapters upon Sondayes, at the assembly of the Congregation under him: who in January the twenty foure, brake with one Samuel Sharpe and Humfrey Reede (who presently discovered it to the Governour) and alleaged substantiall arguments, both civill and divine (the Scripture falsly quoted) that it was no breach of honesty,

Another Mutinie.

conscience, nor Religion, to decline from the obedience of the Governour, or refuse to goe any further, led by his authority (except it so pleased themselves) since the authority ceased when the wracke was committed, and with it, they were all then freed from the government of any man; and for a matter of Conscience, it was not unknowne to the meanest, how much we were therein bound each one to provide for himselfe, and his owne family: for which were two apparant reasons to stay them even in this place; first, abundance by Gods providence of all manner of good foode: next, some hope in reasonable time, when they might grow weary of the place, to build a small Barke, with the skill and helpe of the aforesaid Nicholas Bennit, whom they insinuated to them, albeit hee was now absent from his quarter, and working in the maine Iland with Sir George Summers upon his Pinnace, to be of the conspiracy, that so might get cleere from hence at their owne pleasures: when in Virginia, the first would be assuredly wanting, and they might well feare to be detained in that Countrie by the authority of the Commander thereof, and their whole life to serve the turnes of the Adventurers, with their travailes and labours. This being thus laid, and by such a one, who had gotten an opinion (as I before remembred) of Religion; when it was declared by those two accusers, not knowing what further ground it had or complices, it pleased the Governour to let this his factious offence to have a publique affront, and contestation by these two witnesses before the whole Company, who (at the toling of a Bell) assemble before a Corps du guard, where the Prisoner was brought forth in manacles, and both accused, and suffered to make at large, to every particular, his answere; which was onely full of sorrow and teares, pleading simplicity, and deniall. But hee being onely found, at this time, both the Captaine, and the follower of this Mutinie, and generally held worthy to satisfie the punishment of his offence, with the sacrifice of his life, our Governour passed the sentence of a Martiall Court upon

Conscience greatest enemy to conscience.

Stephen Hopkins condemned and pardoned.

him, such as belongs to Mutinie and Rebellion. But so penitent hee was, and made so much moane, alleadging the ruine of his Wife and Children in this his trespasse, as it wrought in the hearts of all the better sort of the Company, who therefore with humble intreaties, and earnest supplications, went unto our Governor, whom they besought (as likewise did Captaine Newport, and my selfe) and never left him untill we had got his pardon.

In these dangers and divellish disquiets (whilest the almighty God wrought for us, and sent us miraculously delivered from the calamities of the Sea, all blessings upon the shoare, to content and binde us to gratefulnesse) thus inraged amongst our selves, to the destruction each of other, into what a mischiefe and misery had wee bin given up, had wee not had a Governour with his authority, to have suppressed the same? Yet was there a worse practise, faction, and conjuration a foote, deadly and bloudy, in which the life of our Governour, with many others were threatned, and could not but miscarry in his fall. But such is ever the will of God (who in the execution of his judgements, breaketh the firebrands upon the head of him, who first kindleth them) there were, who conceived that our Governour indeede neither durst, nor had authority to put in execution, or passe the act of Justice upon any one, how treacherous or impious so ever; their owne opinions so much deceiving them for the unlawfulnesse of any act, which they would execute: daring to justifie among themselves, that if they should be apprehended, before the performance, they should happily suffer as Martyrs. They persevered therefore not onely to draw unto them such a number, and associates as they could worke in to the abandoning of our Governour, and to the inhabiting of this Iland. They had now purposed to have made a surprise of the Store-house, and to have forced from thence, what was therein either of Meale, Cloath, Cables, Armes, Sailes, Oares or what else it pleased God that we had recovered from the wracke, and was to serve our generall necessity and use, either for the reliefe

Third Mutiny.

of us, while wee staied here, or for the carrying of us from this place againe, when our Pinnace should have bin furnished.

Evill, as it hath a deficient cause, so in and before the effects, defects are found.

But as all giddy and lawlesse attempts, have alwayes something of imperfection, and that as well by the porperty of the action, which holdeth of disobedience and rebellion (both full of feare) as through the ignorance of the devisers themselves; so in this (besides those defects) there were some of the association, who not strong inough fortified in their owne conceits, brake from the plot it selfe, and (before the time was ripe for the execution thereof) discovered the whole order, and every Agent, and Actor thereof, who neverthelesse were not suddenly apprehended, by reason the confederates were divided and seperated in place, some with us, and the chiefe with Sir George Summers in his Iland (and indeede all his whole company) but good watch passed upon them, every man from thenceforth commanded to weare his weapon, without which before, we freely walked from quarter to quarter, and conversed among our selves, and every man advised to stand upon his guard, his owne life not being in safety, whilest his next neighbour was not to be trusted. The Centinels, and nightwarders doubled, the passages of both the quarters were carefully observed, by which meanes nothing was further attempted; untill a Gentleman amongst them, one Henry Paine, the thirteenth of March, full of mischiefe, and every houre preparing something or other, stealing Swords, Adises, Axes, Hatchets, Sawes, Augers, Planes, Mallets, &c. to make good his owne bad end, his watch night comming about, and being called by the Captaine of the same, to be upon the guard, did not onely give his said Commander evill language, but strucke at him, doubled his blowes, and when hee was not suffered to close with him, went off the Guard, scoffing at the double diligence and attendance of the Watch, appointed by the Governour for much purpose, as hee said: upon which, the Watch telling him, if the Governour should understand of this

[IV. ix. 1745.]

H. Paine his Mutinus behaviour.

his insolency, it might turne him to much blame, and happily be as much as his life were worth. The said Paine replyed with a setled and bitter violence, and in such unreverent tearmes, as I should offend the modest eare too much to expresse it in his owne phrase; but the contents were, how that the Governour had no authoritie of that qualitie, to justifie upon any one (how meane soever in the Colonie) an action of that nature, and therefore let the Governour (said hee) kisse, &c. Which words, being with the omitted additions, brought the next day unto every common and publique discourse, at length they were delivered over to the Governour, who examining well the fact (the transgression so much the more exemplary and odious, as being in a dangerous time, in a Confederate, and the successe of the same wishtly listened after, with a doubtfull conceit, what might be the issue of so notorious a boldnesse and impudency) calling the said Paine before him, and the whole Company, where (being soone convinced both by the witnesse, of the Commander, and many which were upon the watch with him) our Governour, who had now the eyes of the whole Colony fixed upon him, condemned him to be instantly hanged; and the ladder being ready, after he had made many confessions, hee earnestly desired, being a Gentleman, that hee might be shot to death, and towards the evening he had his desire, the Sunne and his life setting together.

His execution.

But for the other which were with Sir George, upon the Sunday following (the Barke beeing now in good forwardnesse) and readie to lanch in short time, from that place (as we supposed) to meet ours at a pond of fresh water, where they were both to bee mored, untill such time as being fully tackled, the wind should serve faire, (for our putting to Sea together) being the eighteenth of March, hearing of Paynes death, and fearing hee had appeached them, and discovered the attempt (who poore Gentleman therein, in so bad a cause, was too secret and constant to his owne faith ingaged unto them, and as little needed,

as urged thereunto, though somewhat was voluntarily delivered by him) by a mutuall consent forsooke their labour, and Sir George Summers, and like Out-lawes betooke them to the wild Woods: whether meere rage, and greedinesse after some little Pearle (as it was thought) wherewith they conceived they should for ever inrich themselves, and saw how to obtaine the same easily in this place, or whether, the desire for ever to inhabite heere, or what other secret else moved them thereunto, true it is, they sent an audacious and formall Petition to our Governour, subscribed with all their names and Seales: not only intreating him, that they might stay heere, but (with great art) importuned him, that he would performe other conditions with them, and not wave, nor evade from some of his owne promises, as namely to furnish each of them with two Sutes of Apparell, and contribute Meale rateably for one whole yeere, so much among them, as they had weekly now, which was one pound and an halfe a weeke (for such had beene our proportion for nine moneths). Our Governour answered this their Petition, writing to Sir George Summers to this effect.

Divers of Sir G. Summers company fled into the wooas.

That true it was, at their first arrivall upon this Iland, when it was feared how our meanes would not extend to the making of a Vessell, capeable and large enough, to transport all our Countrimen at once, indeed out of his Christian consideration (mourning for such his Countrimen, who comming under his command, he foresaw that for a while, he was like enough to leave here behind, compelled by tyrannie of necessitie) his purpose was not yet to forsake them so, as given up like Savages: but to leave them all things fitting to defend them from want and wretchednesse, as much at least as lay in his power, to spare from the present use (and perhaps necessitie of others, whose fortunes should be to be transported with him) for one whole yeere or more (if so long by any casualtie, the ships which he would send unto them might be staied before their arrivall, so many hazards accompanying the Sea) but withall intreated Sir George to remember unto his

Sir T. Gates his letter to Sir G. Summers.

Company (if by any meanes he could learne where they were) how he had vowed unto him, that if either his owne meanes, his authoritie in Virginia, or love with his friends in England, could dispatch for them sooner, how farre it was from him, to let them remayne abandoned, and neglected without their redemption so long: and then proceeded, requesting Sir George Summers againe, to signifie unto them, since now our owne Pinnasse did arise to that burthen, and that it would sufficiently transport them all, beside the necessitie of any other Barke: and yet, that since his Barke was now readie too, that those consultations, howsoever charitable and most passionate in themselves, might determine, as taken away thereby, and therefore, that he should now bee pleased to advise them well, how unanswerable this grant or consent of his should be: first, to his Majestie for so many of his subjects, next to the Adventurers, and lastly, what an imputation and infamy it might be, to both their owne proper reputations, and honours, having each of them authoritie in their places, to compell the adversant and irregular multitude, at any time, to what should bee obedient and honest, which if they should not execute, the blame would not lye upon the people (at all times wavering and insolent) but upon themselves so weake and unworthy in their command. And moreover intreated him by any secret practice to apprehend them, since that the obstinate, and precipitate many, were no more in such a condition and state to bee favoured, then the murmuring and mutinie of such Rebellious and turbulent Humorists, who had not conscience nor knowledge, to draw in the yoke of goodnesse, and in the businesse for which they were sent out of England: for which likewise, at the expence and charge of the Adventurers, they were to him committed, and that the meanest in the whole Fleet stood the Company in no lesse then twentie pounds, for his owne personall Transportation, and things necessary to accompany him. And therefore lovingly conjured Sir George, by the worthinesse of his (heretofore)

[IV. ix. 1746.

well mayntayned reputation, and by the powers of his owne judgement, and by the vertue of that ancient love and friendship, which had these many yeeres beene setled betweene them, to doe his best, to give this revolted Company (if he could send unto them) the consideration of these particulars, and so worke with them (if he might) that by faire meanes (the Mutinie reconciled) they would at length survey their owne errours, which hee would bee as readie, upon their rendring and comming into pardon, as he did now pittie them; assuring them in generall and particular, that whatsoever they had sinisterly committed, or practised hitherto against the Lawes of dutie and honestie, should not in any sort be imputed against them.

In which good Office Sir George Summers did so nobly worke, and heartily labour, as hee brought most of them in, and indeed all, but Christopher Carter, and Robert Waters, who (by no meanes) would any more come amongst Sir Georges men, hearing that Sir George had commanded his men indeed (since they would not be intreated by faire meanes) to surprize them (if they could) by any device or force. From which time they grew so cautelous and wary, for their owne ill, as at our comming away, wee were faine to leave them behind. That Waters was a Sayler, who at his first landing upon the Iland (as after you shall heare) killed another fellow Sayler of his, the bodie of the murthered and Murtherer so dwelling, as prescribed now together.

Waters and Carter stand out and are left behind.

During our time of abode upon these Ilands, wee had daily every Sunday two Sermons preached by our Minister, besides every Morning and Evening at the ringing of a Bell, wee repayred all to publique Prayer, at what time the names of our whole Company were called by Bill, and such as were wanting, were duly punished.

Religious exercises performed by Master Bucke.

The contents (for the most part) of all our Preachers Sermons, were especially of Thankefulnesse and Unitie, &c.

It pleased God also to give us opportunitie, to performe

The most holy civill and most naturall possession taken of the Bermudas by exercise of Sacraments Marriage, Child-birth, &c.

all the other Offices, and Rites of our Christian Profession in this Iland: as Marriage, for the sixe and twentieth of November, we had one of Sir George Summers his men, his Cooke, named Thomas Powell, who married a Maid Servant of one Mistris Horton, whose name was Elizabeth Persons: and upon Christmasse Eve, as also once before, the first of October; our Minister preached a godly Sermon, which being ended, he celebrated a Communion, at the partaking whereof our Governour was, and the greatest part of our Company: and the eleventh of February, wee had the childe of one John Rose christened a Daughter, to which Captaine Newport and my selfe were Witnesses, and the aforesaid Mistris Horton and we named it Bermuda, as also the five and twentieth of March, the wife of one Edward Eason, being delivered the weeke before of a Boy, had him then christened, to which Captaine Newport and my selfe, and Master James Swift were Godfathers, and we named it Bermudas.

Children named Bermuda and Bermudas.

Likewise, we buried five of our company, Jeffery Briars, Richard Lewis, William Hitchman, and my God-daughter Bermuda Rolfe, and one untimely Edward Samuell a Sayler, being villanously killed by the foresaid Robert Waters, (a Sayler likewise) with a shovell, who strake him therewith under the lift of the Eare, for which he was apprehended, and appointed to be hanged the next day, (the fact being done in the twilight) but being bound fast to a Tree all night, with many Ropes, and a Guard of five or six to attend him, his fellow Saylers (watching the advantage of the Centinels sleeping) in despight and disdaine that Justice should bee shewed upon a Sayler, and that one of their crue should be an example to others, not taking into consideration, the unmanlinesse of the murther, nor the horror of the sinne, they cut his bands, and conveyed him into the Woods, where they fed him nightly, and closely, who afterward by the mediation of Sir George Summers, upon many conditions, had his tryall respited by our Governour.

Saylers misorder.

Wee had brought our Pinnasse so forward by this time,

as the eight and twentieth of August we having laid her Keele. The sixe and twentieth of February, we now began to calke: old Cables we had preserved unto us, which affoorded Ocam enough: and one barrell of Pitch, and another of Tarre, we likewise saved, which served our use some little way upon the Bilg, wee breamed her otherwise with Lime made of Wilke-shels, and an hard white stone which we burned in a Kill, slaked with fresh water, and tempered with Tortoyses Oyle. The thirtieth of March being Friday, we towed her out in the morning Spring-tyde, from the Wharfe where she was built, boying her with foure Caske in her runne only: which opened into the North-west, and into which when the Breeze stood North and by West with any stiffe gale, and upon the Spring-tydes, the Sea would increase with that violence, especially twice it did so, as at the first time (before our Governour had caused a solid Causey of an hundred load of stone to bee brought from the Hils and Neighbour Rockes, and round about her ribs from stemme to stemme, where it made a pointed Baulke, and thereby brake the violence of the Flowe and Billowe) it indangered her overthrow and ruine, beeing greene as it were upon the Stockes. With much difficultie, diligence, and labour, we saved her at the first, all her Bases, Shores, and Piles, which under-set her, being almost carried from her, which was the second of January, when her knees were not set to, nor one joynt firme: We launched her unrigged, to carrie her to a little round Iland, lying West North-west, and close aboord to the backe side of our Iland, both neerer the Ponds and Wels of some fresh water, as also from thence to make our way to the Sea the better: the Channell being there sufficient and deepe enough to leade her forth, when her Masts, Sayles, and all her Trimme should bee about her. Shee was fortie foot by the Keele, and nineteene foot broad at the Beame, sixe foote floore, her Rake forward was fourteene foot, her Rake aft from the top of her Post (which was twelve foot long) was three foot, shee was eight foot deepe under her Beame, betweene her [IV. ix. 1747.]

Deckes she was foure foot and an halfe, with a rising of halfe a foot more under her fore Castle, of purpose to scowre the Decke with small shot, if at any time wee should bee borded by the Enemie. Shee had a fall of eighteene inches aft, to make her sterage and her great Cabbin the more large: her sterage was five foote long, and sixe foote high, with a close Gallerie right aft, with a window on each side, and two right aft. The most part of her timber was Cedar, which we found to be bad for shipping, for that it is wonderous false inward, and besides it is so spault or brickle, that it will make no good plankes, her Beames were all Oke of our ruine ship, and some plankes in her Bow of Oke, and all the rest as is aforesaid. When shee began to swimme (upon her launching) our Governour called her The Deliverance, and shee might be some eighty tunnes of burthen.

Cedar ill for shipping.

Before we quitted our old quarter, and dislodged to the fresh water with our Pinnasse, our Governour set up in Sir George Summers Garden a faire Muemosynon in figure of a Crosse, made of some of the timber of our ruined shippe, which was scrued in with strong and great trunnels to a mightie Cedar, which grew in the middest of the said Garden, and whose top and upper branches he caused to be lopped, that the violence of the winde and weather might have the lesse power over her.

Crosse set up for a memorial.

In the middest of the Crosse, our Governour fastened the Picture of his Majestie in a piece of Silver of twelve pence, and on each side of the Crosse, hee set an Inscription graven in Copper, in the Latine and English to this purpose.

His Majesties Picture.

In memory of our great deliverance, both from a mightie storme and leake: wee have set up this to the honour of God. It is the spoyle of an English ship (of three hundred tunne) called the Sea Venture, bound with seven ships more (from which the storme divided us) to Virginia, or Nova Britania, in America. In it were two Knights, Sir Thomas Gates Knight, Governour

of the English Forces and Colonie there: and Sir George Summers Knight, Admirall of the Seas. Her Captaine was Christopher Newport, Passengers and Mariners shee had beside (which came all safe to Land) one hundred and fiftie. We were forced to runne her ashore (by reason of her leake) under a Point that bore South-east from the Northerne Point of the Iland, which wee discovered first the eight and twentieth of July 1609.

About the last of Aprill, Sir George Summers launched his Pinnasse, and brought her from his building Bay, in the Mayne Iland, into the Channell where ours did ride, and shee was by the Keele nine and twentie foot: at the Beame fifteene foot and an halfe: at the Loofe fourteene, at the Trausam nine, and she was eight foote deepe, and drew sixe foote water, and hee called her the Patience.

§. III.

Their departure from Bermuda and arrivall in Virginia: miseries there, departure and returne upon the Lord La Warres arriving. James Towne described.

FRom this time we only awaited a favourable Westerly wind to carrie us forth, which longer then usuall now kept at the East, and South-east, the way which wee were to goe. The tenth of May early, Sir George Summers and Captaine Newport went off with their long Boates, and with two Canoaes boyed the Channell, which wee were to leade it out in, and which was no broader from Shoales on the one side and Rockes on the other, then about three times the length of our Pinnasse. About ten of the clocke, that day being Thursday, we set sayle an easie gale, the wind at South, and by reason no more winde blew, we were faine to towe her with our long Boate, yet neither with the helpe of that, were we able to fit our Bowyes, but even when we came just upon them, we strucke a Rocke [IV. ix. 1748.]

on the starboord side, over which the Bowye rid, and had it not beene a soft Rocke, by which meanes she bore it before her, and crushed it to pieces, God knowes we might have beene like enough, to have returned anew, and dwelt there, after tenne monethes of carefulnesse and great labour a longer time: but God was more mercifull unto us. When shee strucke upon the Rocke, the Cock-swayne one Walsingham beeing in the Boate with a quicke spirit (when wee were all amazed, and our hearts failed) and so by Gods goodnesse wee led it out at three fadome, and three fadome and an halfe water. The wind served us easily all that day and the next, when (God be ever praysed for it) to the no little joy of us all, we got cleere of the Ilands. After which holding a Southerly course, for seven dayes wee had the winde sometimes faire, and sometimes scarce and contrarie: in which time we lost Sir George Summers twice, albeit we still spared him our mayne top-sayle, and sometimes our fore course too.

Signe of Land. The seventeenth of May we saw change of water, and had much Rubbish swimme by our ship side, whereby wee knew wee were not farre from Land. The eighteenth about midnight wee sounded, with the Dipsing Lead, and found thirtie seven fadome. The nineteenth in the morning we sounded, and had nineteene and an halfe fadome, stonie, and sandie ground. The twentieth about midnight, we had a marvellous sweet smell from the shoare (as from the Coast of Spaine, short of the Straits) strong and pleasant, which did not a little glad us. In the morning by day breake (so soone as one might well see from the fore-top) one of the Saylers descryed Land about an houre after, I went up and might discover two Hummockes to the Southward, from which (Northward all along) lay the Land, which wee were to Coast to Cape Henrie. About seven of the clocke we cast forth an Anchor, because the tyde (by reason of the Freshet that set into the Bay) made a strong Ebbe there, and the winde was but easie, so as

not beeing able to stemme the Tyde, we purposed to lye at an Anchor untill the next flood, but the wind comming South-west a loome gale about eleven, we set sayle againe, and having got over the Barre, bore in for the Cape.

This is the famous Chesipiacke Bay, which wee have called (in honour of our young Prince) Cape Henrie over against which within the Bay, lyeth another Head-land, which wee called in honour of our Princely Duke of Yorke Cape Charles; and these lye North-east and by East, and South-west and by West, and they may bee distant each from the other in breadth seven leagues, betweene which the Sea runnes in as broad as betweene Queeneburrough and Lee. Indeed it is a goodly Bay and a fairer, not easily to be found. *Chesipiack Bay.*

The one and twentieth, beeing Munday in the morning, wee came up within two miles of Point Comfort, when the Captaine of the Fort discharged a warning Peece at us, whereupon we came to an Anchor, and sent off our long Boat to the Fort, to certifie who we were; by reason of the shoales which lye on the South-side, this Fort easily commands the mouth of the River, albeit it is as broad as betweene Greenwich, and the Ile of Dogges.

True it is, such who talked with our men from the shoare, delivered how safely all our ships the last yeere (excepting only the Admirall, and the little Pinnasse in which one Michael Philes commanded of some twentie tunne, which we towed a sterne till the storme blew) arrived, and how our people (well increased) had therefore builded this Fort; only wee could not learne any thing of our long Boat, sent from the Bermudas, but what wee gathered by the Indians themselves, especially from Powhatan, who would tell our men of such a Boat landed in one of his Rivers, and would describe the people, and make much scoffing sport thereat: by which wee have gathered, that it is most likely, how it arrived upon our Coast, and not meeting

The long Boat sent by Ravens cast away.

with our River were taken at some time or other, at some advantage by the Savages, and so cut off. When our Skiffe came up againe, the good newes of our ships, and mens arrivall the last yeere, did not a little glad our Governour: who went soone ashoare, and assoone (contrary to all our faire hopes) had new unexpected, uncomfortable, and heavie newes of a worse condition of our people above at James Towne.

Algernoone Fort. M. George Percy.

Upon Point Comfort our men did the last yeere (as you have heard) rayse a little Fortification, which since hath beene better perfected, and is likely to proove a strong Fort, and is now kept by Captaine James Davies with forty men, and hath to name Algernoone Fort, so called by Captaine George Percy, whom we found at our arrivall President of the Colony, and at this time like-wise in the Fort. When we got into the Point, which was the one and twentieth of May, being Munday about noone; where riding before an Indian Towne called Kecoughton, a mightie storme of Thunder, Lightning, and Raine, gave us a shrewd and fearefull welcome.

Miserable shewes of welcome.

From hence in two dayes (only by the helpe of Tydes, no winde stirring) wee plyed it sadly up the River, and the three and twentieth of May we cast Anchor before James Towne, where we landed, and our much grieved Governour first visiting the Church caused the Bell to be rung, at which (all such as were able to come forth of their houses) repayred to Church where our Minister Master Bucke made a zealous and sorrowfull Prayer, finding all things so contrary to our expectations, so full of misery and misgovernment. After Service our Governour caused mee to reade his Commission, and Captaine Percie (then President) delivered up unto him his Commission, the old Patent and the Councell Seale. Viewing the Fort, we found the Pallisadoes torne downe, the Ports open, the Gates from off the hinges, and emptie houses (which Owners death had taken from them) rent up and burnt, rather

Old Patent yeelded up.

[IV. ix. 1749.]

then the dwellers would step into the Woods a stones cast off from them, to fetch other fire-wood: and it is true, the Indian killed as fast without, if our men stirred but beyond the bounds of their Block-house, as Famine and Pestilence did within; with many more particularities of their sufferances (brought upon them by their owne disorders the last yeere) then I have heart to expresse. In this desolation and misery our Governour found the condition and state of the Colonie, and (which added more to his griefe) no hope how to amend it or save his owne Company, and those yet remayning alive, from falling into the like necessities. For we had brought from the Bermudas no greater store of provision (fearing no such accidents possible to befall the Colony here) then might well serve one hundred and fiftie for a Sea Voyage: and it was not possible, at this time of the yeere to amend it, by any helpe from the Indian. For besides that they (at their best) have little more, then from hand to mouth, it was now likewise but their Seed-time, and all their Corne scarce put into the ground: nor was there at the Fort, (as they whom we found related unto us) any meanes to take fish, neither sufficient Seine, nor other convenient Net, and yet if there had, there was not one eye of Sturgeon yet come into the River. All which considered, it pleased our Governour to make a Speech unto the Company, giving them to understand, that what provision he had, they should equally share with him, and if he should find it not possible, and easie to supply them with some thing from the Countrey, by the endevours of his able men, hee would make readie, and transport them all into their Native Countrey (accommodating them the best that he could) at which there was a generall acclamation, and shoute of joy on both sides, for even our owne men began to be disheartened and faint, when they saw this misery amongst the others, and no lesse threatned unto themselves. In the meane while, our Governour published certaine

Their miseries invited. Ipsi sibi causa malorum.

Orders established which continued for their short stay: the particulers are here omitted. They contained a Preface and 21. Articles for Pietie, Loyaltie and Politie convenient to the Colonie.

Orders and Instructions, which hee enjoyned them strictly to observe, the time that hee should stay amongst them, which being written out faire, were set up upon a post in the Church for every one to take notice of.

If I should be examined from whence, and by what occasion, all these disasters, and afflictions descended upon our people, I can only referre you (honoured Ladie) to the Booke, which the Adventurers have sent hither intituled, Advertisements unto the Colony in Virginia: wherein the ground and causes are favourably abridged, from whence these miserable effects have beene produced, not excusing likewise the forme of government of some errour, which was not powerfull enough among so headie a multitude, especially, as those who arrived here in the supply sent the last yeere with us: with whom the better authoritie and government now changed into an absolute command, came along, and had beene as happily established, had it pleased God, that we with them had reached our wished Harbour.

Unto such calamity can sloath, riot, and vanity, bring the most setled and plentifull estate. Indeede (right noble Lady) no story can remember unto us, more woes and anguishes, then these people, thus governed, have both suffered and puld upon their owne heads.

Men blamed, but not all the Country freed.

And yet true it is, some of them, whose voyces and command might not be heard, may easily be absolved from the guilt hereof, as standing untouched, and upright in their innocencies; whilest the privie factionaries shall never find time nor darknesse, to wipe away or cover their ignoble and irreligious practises, who, it may be, lay all the discredits, and imputations the while upon the Countrie. But under pardon, let me speake freely to them: let them remember that if riot and sloth should both meet in any one of their best Families, in a Countrey most stored with abundance and plentie in England, continuall wasting, no Husbandry, the old store still spent on, no order for new provisions, what better could befall unto the Inhabitants, Land-

lords, and Tenants of that corner, then necessarily following cleannesse of teeth, famine and death? Is it not the sentence and doome of the Wiseman? Yet a little sleepe, a little slumber, and a little folding of the hands to sleepe: so thy poverty commeth, as one that travelleth by the way, and thy necessitie like an armed man. *Prov. 6.* And with this Idlenesse, when some thing was in store, all wastfull courses exercised to the heigth, and the headlesse multitude, (some neither of qualitie nor Religion) not imployed to the end for which they were sent hither, no not compelled (since in themselves unwilling) to sowe Corne for their owne bellies, nor to put a Roote, Herbe, &c. for their owne particular good in their Gardens or elsewhere: I say in this neglect and sensuall Surfet, all things suffered to runne on, to lie sicke and languish; must it be expected, that health, plentie, and all the goodnesse of a well ordered State, of necessitie for all this to flow in this Countrey? You have a right and noble heart (worthy Lady) bee judge of the truth herein. Then suffer it not bee concluded unto you, nor beleeve, I beseech you, that the wants and wretchednesse which they have indured, ascend out of the povertie and vilenesse of the Countrey, whether bee respected the Land or Rivers: the one, and the other, having not only promised, but powred enough in their veines, to convince them in such calumnies, and to quit those common calamities, which (as the shadow accompanies the body) the precedent neglects touched at, if truely followed, and wrought upon. [IV. ix. 1750.] What England may boast of, having the faire hand of husbandry to manure and dresse it, God, and Nature have favourably bestowed upon this Country, and as it hath given unto it, both by situation, height, and soyle, all those (past hopes) assurances which follow our well planted native Countrie, and others, lying under the same influence: if, as ours, the Countrey and soyle might be improved, and drawne forth: so hath it indowed it, as is most certaine, with many more,

The Countrey commended.

which England fetcheth farre unto her from elsewhere. For first wee have experience, and even our eyes witnesse (how yong so ever wee are to the Countrie) that no Countrey yeeldeth goodlier Corne, nor more manifold increase: large Fields wee have, as prospects of the same, and not farre from our Pallisado. Besides, wee have thousands of goodly Vines in every hedge, and Boske running along the ground, which yeelde a plentifull Grape in their kinde. Let mee appeale then to knowledge, if these naturall Vines were planted, dressed, and ordered by skilfull Vinearoones, whether wee might not make a perfect Grape, and fruitefull Vintage in short time? And we have made triall of our owne English seedes, kitchen Hearbs, and Rootes, and finde them to prosper as speedily as in England.

Rem. acu tetigit. True cause of misery in Virginia.

Onely let me truely acknowledge, they are not an hundred or two of deboist hands, dropt forth by yeare after yeare, with penury, and leisure, ill provided for before they come, and worse to be governed when they are here, men of such distempered bodies, and infected mindes, whom no examples daily before their eyes, either of goodnesse or punishment, can deterre from their habituall impieties, or terrifie from a shamefull death, that must be the Carpenters, and workemen in this so glorious a building.

Then let no rumour of the poverty of the Country (as if in the wombe thereof there lay not those elementall seedes, which could produce as many faire births of plenty, and increase, and better hopes, then any land under the heaven, to which the Sunne is no neerer a neighbour) I say, let no imposture rumour, nor any fame of some one, or a few more changeable actions, interposing by the way, or at home, wave any mans faire purposes hitherward, or wrest them to a declining and falling off from the businesse.

I will acknowledge, deere Lady, I have seene much propensnesse already towards the unity, and generall endeavours: how contentedly doe such as labour with

us, goe forth, when men of ranke and quality, assist, and set on their labours? I have seene it, and I protest it, I have heard the inferioor people, with alacrity of spirit professe, that they should never refuse to doe their best in the practise of their sciences and knowledges, when such worthy, and Noble Gentlemen goe in and out before them, and not onely so, but as the occasion shall be offered, no lesse helpe them with their hand, then defend them with the Sword. And it is to be understood, that such as labour, are not yet so taxed, but that easily they performe the same, and ever by tenne of the clocke have done their Mornings worke: at what time, they have their allowances set out ready for them, and untill it be three of the clocke againe, they take their owne pleasure, and afterwards with the Sunne set, their dayes labour is finished. In all which courses, if the businesse be continued, I doubt nothing, with Gods favour towards us, but to see it in time, a Countrie, an Haven, and a Staple, fitted for such a trade, as shall advance assureder increase, both to the Adventurers, and free Burgers thereof, then any Trade in Christendome, or then that (even in her earely dayes, when Michael Cavacco the Greeke, did first discover it to our English Factor in Poland) which extends it selfe now from Calpe and Abila, to the bottome of Sidon, and so wide as Alexandria, and all the Ports and Havens North and South, through the Arches to Cio, Smyrna, Troy, the Hellespont, and up to Pompeys Pillar, which as a Pharos, or watch Tower, stands upon the wondrous opening into the Euxine Sea.

Times of labour under Sir T. Gates.

Note. The hopes of Virginia.

From the three and twentieth of May, unto the seventh of June, our Governour attempted, and made triall of all the wayes, that both his owne judgement could prompe him in, and the advice of Captaine George Percy, and those Gentlemen whom hee found of the Counsell, when hee came in, as of others; whom hee caused to deliver their knowledges, concerning the State and Condition of the Countrey: but after much debating,

Sir T. Gates his care.

it could not appeare, how possibly they might preserve themselves (reserving that little which wee brought from the Bermudas in our Shippes, and was upon all occasions to stand good by us) tenne dayes from starving. For besides that the Indians were of themselves poore, they were forbidden likewise (by their subtile King Powhatan) at all to trade with us; and not onely so, but to indanger and assault any Boate upon the River, or stragler out of the Fort by Land, by which (not long before our arrivall) our people had a large Boate cut off, and divers of our men killed, even within command of our Blocke-house; as likewise, they shot two of our people to death, after we had bin foure and five dayes come in: and yet would they dare then to enter our Ports, and trucke with us (as they counterfeited underhand) when indeede, they came but as Spies to discover our strength, trucking with us upon such hard conditions, that our Governour might very well see their subtiltie, and therefore neither could well indure, nor would continue it. And I may truely say beside, so had our men abased, and to such a contempt, had they brought the value of our Copper, that a peece which would have bought a bushell of their Corne in former time, would not now buy a little Cade or Basket of a Pottle. And for this misgovernment, chiefely our Colony is much bound to the Mariners, who never yet in any Voyage hither, but have made a prey of our poore people in want; insomuch, as unlesse they might advance foure or five for one (how assured soever of the payments of their Bils of Exchange) they would not spare them a dust of Corne, nor a pinte of Beere, to give unto them the least comfort or reliefe, although that Beere purloyned, and stolne perhaps, either from some particular supply, or from the generall store: so uncharitable a parcell of people they be, and ill conditioned. I my selfe have heard the Master of a Shippe say (even upon the arrivall of this Fleete, with the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall, when the

Pohatans policy.

Savage Spies.

[IV. ix. 1751.]

Basenesse of our people.

Mischiefes of Mariners.

said Master was treated with for such Commodities as hee brought to sell) that unlesse hee might have an East Indian increase, foure for one, all charges cleered, hee would not part with a Can of Beere. Besides, to doe us more villany and mischiefe, they would send of their long Boates still by night, and (well guarded) make out to the neighbour Villages, and Townes, and there (contrary to the Articles of the Fort, which now pronounce death for a trespasse of that qualitie) trucke with the Indians, giving for their trifles Otter skinnes, Bevers, Rokoone Furres, Beares skinnes, &c. so large a quantity, and measure of Copper, as when the Trucke-Master for the Colony, in the day time offered trade, the Indians would laugh and scorne the same, telling what bargains they met withall by night, from our Mangot Quintons (so calling our great Shippes) by which meanes, the Market with them forestalled thus by these dishonest men, I may boldly say, they have bin a consequent cause (this last yeare) to the death and starving of many a worthy spirit; but I hope to see a true amendment and reformation, as well of those as of divers other intollerable abuses, thrust upon the Colony by these shamelesse people, as also for the transportation of such provisions and supplies as are sent hither, and come under the charge of pursers (a parcell, fragment, and odde ends of fellowes dependancies to the others) a better course thought upon: of which supplies, never yet came into the Store, or to the Parties, unto whom such supplies were sent, by relation hitherto, a moitie or third part; for the speedy redresse of this, being so soveraigne a point, I understand how the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall, hath advised unto the Counsell, that there may be no more provisions at all delivered unto Pursers, but hath intreated to have the provision thus ordered. He would have a Commissary Generall of the Victuals to be appointed, who (receiving the store for the Colony, by Indenture from the Treasurer, and Victuallers in England) may

Pursers fraud.

Remedy.

keepe a just accompt, what the grosse amounteth unto, and what is transported every Voyage, in severall kindes, as of Bread, Meate, Beere, Wine, &c. which said Commissary shall deliver over the same, to the Master of every Ship, and take an Indenture from the said Master, of what he hath in charge, and what he is to deliver to the Treasurer of the store in Virginia: of which, if any be wanting, he the said Master shall make it good, out of his owne intertainment, otherwise the Pursers, Stewards, Coopers, and quarter Masters, will be sure still, not onely to give themselves and their friends double allowances, but thinke it all well gotten that they can purloine and steale away.

Besides that the Indian thus evill intreated us, the River (which were wont before this time of the yeare to be plentifull of Sturgion) had not now a Fish to be seene in it, and albeit we laboured, and hold our Net twenty times day and night, yet we tooke not so much as would content halfe the Fishermen. Our Governour therefore sent away his long Boate to coast the River downward, as farre as Point Comfort, and from thence to Cape Henry, and Cape Charles, and all within the Bay: which after a seven nights triall and travaile, returned without any fruites of their labours, scarse getting so much Fish as served their owne Company.

The Colony when they came within foure dayes of starving.

And to take any thing from the Indian by force, we never used, nor willingly ever will: and though they had well deserved it, yet it was not now time, for they did (as I said before) but then set their Corne, and at their best, they had but from hand to mouth; so as what now remained? such as we found in the Fort, had wee staid but foure dayes, had doubtlesse bin the most part of them starved, for their best reliefe was onely Mushrums, and some hearbes, which sod together, made but a thin and unsavory broath, and swelled them much. The pitty hereof moved our Governour to draw forth such provision as he had

brought, proportioning a measure equally to every one a like. But then our Governor began to examine how long this his store would hold out, and found it (husbanded to the best advantage) not possible to serve longer then sixteene dayes: after which, nothing was to be possibly supposed out of the Countrey (as before remembred) nor remained there then any meanes to transport him elsewhere. Whereupon hee then entred into the consultation with Sir George Summers, and Captaine Newport, calling unto the same the Gentlemen and Counsell of the former Government, intreating both the one and the other to advise with him what was best to be done. The provision which they both had aboord himselfe and Sir George Summers, was examined, and delivered, how it, being rackt to the uttermost, extended not above, as I said, sixteene dayes, after two Cakes a day. The Gentlemen of the Town, who knew better of the Country, could not give him any hope, or wayes, how to improve it from the Indian. It soone then appeared most fit, by a generall approbation, that to preserve and save all from starving, there could be no readier course thought on, then to abandon the Country, and accommodating themselves the best that they might, in the present Pinnaces then in the road, namely in the Discovery and the Virginia, and in the two, brought from, and builded at the Bermudas, the Deliverance, and the Patience, with all speede convenient to make for the New found Land, where (being the fishing time) they might meete with many English Ships into which happily they might disperse most of the Company. [IV. ix. 1752.]

Purpose to leav the Country.

This Consultation taking effect, our Governor having caused to be carried aboord all the Armes, and all the best things in the store, which might to the Adventurers make some commodity upon the sale thereof at home, and burying our Ordnances before the Fort gate, which looked into the River. The seventh of June

having appointed to every Pinnace likewise his complement and number, also delivered thereunto a proportionable rate of provision, hee commanded every man at the beating of the Drum to repaire aboord. And because hee would preserve the Towne (albeit now to be quitted) unburned, which some intemperate and malicious people threatned, his owne Company he caused to be left ashoare, and was himselfe the last of them, when about noone giving a farewell, with a peale of small shot, wee set saile, and that night, with the tide, fell downe to an Iland in the River, which our people have called Hogge Iland; and the morning tide brought us to another Iland, which we have called Mulberry Iland; where lying at an ancor, in the afternoone stemming the tide, wee discovered a long Boate making towards us, from Point Comfort: much descant we made thereof, about an houre it came up; by which, to our no little joyes, we had intelligence of the honorable my Lord La Warr his arrivall before Algarnoone Fort the sixt of June, at what time, true it is, his Lordship having understood of our Governours resolution to depart the Country, with all expedition caused his Skiffe to be manned, and in it dispatched his letters by Captain Edward Bruster (who commandeth his Lordships Company) to our Governour, which preventing us before the aforesaid Mulberry Iland, (the eight of June aforesaid) upon the receipt of his honours letters, our Governour bore up the helme, with the winde comming Easterly, and that night (the winde so favourable) relanded all his men at the Fort againe: before which (the tenth of June, being Sunday) his Lordship had likewise brought his Ships, and in the afternoone, came a shoare with Sir Ferdinando Weinman, and all his Lordships followers.

The highest pitch & lowest depth of the Colonies miseries scarsly escaping the jawes of devouring desperation. Hopes morning.

L. La Warrs arrivall.

Here (worthy Lady) let mee have a little your pardon, for having now a better heart, then when I first landed, I will briefely describe unto you, the situation and forme of our Fort. When Captain Newport in his

first Voyage, did not like to inhabit upon so open a roade, as Cape Henry, nor Point Comfort he plied it up to the River, still looking out for the most apt and securest place, as well for his Company to sit downe in, as which might give the least cause of offence, or distast in his judgement, to the Inhabitants. At length, after much and weary search (with their Barge coasting still before, as Virgill writeth Æneas did, arriving in the region of Italy called Latium, upon the bankes of the River Tyber) in the Country of a Werowance called Wowinchapuncke (a ditionary to Powhatan) within this faire River of Paspiheigh, which wee have called the Kings River, a Country least inhabited by the Indian, as they all the way observed, and three-score miles & better up the fresh Channell, from Cape Henry they had sight of an extended plaine & spot of earth, which thrust out into the depth, & middest of the channell, making a kinde of Chersonesus or Peninsula, for it was fastened onely to the Land with a slender necke, no broader then a man may well quaite a tile shard, & no inhabitants by seven or six miles neere it. The Trumpets sounding, the Admirall strooke saile, and before the same, the rest of the Fleete came to an ancor, and here (as the best yet offered unto their view, supposed so much the more convenient, by how much with their small Company, they were like inough the better to assure it) to loose no further time, the Colony disimbarked, and every man brought his particular store and furniture, together with the generall provision ashoare: for the safety of which, as likewise for their owne security, ease, and better accommodating, a certaine Canton and quantity of that little halfe Iland of ground, was measured, which they began to fortifie, and thereon in the name of God, to raise a Fortresse, with the ablest and speediest meanes they could: which Fort, growing since to more perfection, is now at this present in this manner.

Description of the seate and site of James Towne.

The Fort, &c. described.

A low levell of ground about halfe an Acre, or (so

much as Queene Dido might buy of King Hyarbas, which she compassed about with the thongs cut out of one Bull hide, and therein built her Castle of Byrza) on the North side of the River, is cast almost into the forme of a Triangle, and so Pallizadoed. The South side next the River (howbeit extended in a line, or Curtaine six score foote more in length, then the other two, by reason the advantage of the ground doth so require) containes one hundred and forty yards: the West and East sides a hundred onely. At every Angle or corner, where the lines meete, a Bulwarke or Watchtower is raised, and in each Bulwarke a peece of Ordnance or two well mounted. To every side, a proportioned distance from the Pallisado, is a setled streete of houses, that runs along, so as each line of the Angle hath his streete. In the middest is a market place, a Store house, and a Corps du guard, as likewise a pretty Chappell, though (at this time when wee came in) as ruined and unfrequented: but [IV. ix. 1753.] the Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall, hath given order for the repairing of it, and at this instant, many hands are about it. It is in length threescore foote, in breadth twenty foure, and shall have a Chancell in it of Cedar, and a Communion Table of the Blake Walnut, and all the Pewes of Cedar, with faire broad windowes, to shut and open, as the weather shall occasion, of the same wood, a Pulpet of the same, with a Font hewen hollow, like a Canoa, with two Bels at the West end. It is so cast, as it be very light within, and the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall doth cause it to be kept passing sweete, and trimmed up with divers flowers, with a Sexton belonging to it, and in it every Sonday wee have sermons twice a day, and every Thursday a Sermon, having true preachers, which take their weekely turnes, and every morning at the ringing of a Bell, about ten of the clocke, each man addresseth himselfe to prayers, and so at foure of the clocke before Supper. Every Sunday, when the Lord Gover-

nour, and Captaine Generall goeth to Church, hee is accompanied with all the Counsailers, Captaines, other Officers, and all the Gentlemen, and with a Guard of Holberdiers in his Lordships Livery, faire red cloakes, to the number of fifty, both on each side, and behinde him: and being in the Church, his Lordship hath his seate in the Quier, in a greene Velvet Chaire, with a Cloath, with a Velvet Cushion spread on a Table before him, on which he kneeleth, and on each side sit the Counsell, Captaines, and Officers, each in their place, and when he returneth home againe, he is waited on to his house in the same manner.

And thus inclosed, as I said, round with a Pallizado of Planckes and strong Posts, foure foote deepe in the ground, of yong Oakes, Walnuts, &c. The Fort is called in honour of his Majesties name, James Towne; the principall Gate from the Towne, through the Pallizado, opens to the River, as at each Bulwarke there is a Gate likewise to goe forth, and at every Gate a Demi-Culverin, and so in the Market Place. The houses first raised, were all burnt by a casualty of *The Houses.* fire, the beginning of the second yeare of their seate, and in the second Voyage of Captain Newport, which since have bin better rebuilded, though as yet in no great uniformity, either for the fashion, or beauty of the streete. A delicate wrought fine kinde of Mat the Indians make, with which (as they can be trucked for, or snatched up) our people do dresse their chambers, and inward roomes, which make their houses so much the more handsome. The houses have wide and large Country Chimnies in the which is to be supposed (in such plenty of wood) what fires are maintained; and they have found the way to cover their houses: now (as the Indians) with barkes of Trees, as durable, and as *Barke Roofes.* good proofe against stormes, and winter weather, as the best Tyle defending likewise the piercing Sunbeames of Summer, and keeping the inner lodgings coole enough, which before in sultry weather would be like Stoves,

whilest they were, as at first, pargetted and plaistered with Bitumen or tough Clay: and thus armed for the injury of changing times, and seasons of the yeare, we hold our selves well apaid, though wanting Arras Hangings, Tapistry, and guilded Venetian Cordovan, or more spruse houshold garniture, and wanton City ornaments, remembring the old Epigraph:

> We dwell not here to build us Bowers,
> And Hals for pleasure and good cheere:
> But Hals we build for us and ours,
> To dwell in them whilst we live here.

Unhealthfulnesse of James Towne.

True it is, I may not excuse this our Fort, or James Towne, as yet seated in some what an unwholesome and sickly ayre, by reason it is in a marish ground, low, flat to the River, and hath no fresh water Springs serving the Towne, but what wee drew from a Well sixe or seven fathom deepe, fed by the brackish River owzing into it, from whence I verily beleeve, the chiefe causes have proceeded of many diseases and sicknesses which have happened to our people, who are indeede strangely afflicted with Fluxes and Agues; and every particular season (by the relation of the old inhabitants) hath his particular infirmity too, all which (if it had bin our fortunes, to have seated upon some hill, accommodated with fresh Springs and cleere ayre, as doe the Natives of the Country) we might have, I beleeve, well escaped: and some experience we have to perswade our selves that it may be so, for of foure hundred and odde men, which were seated at the Fals, the last yeere when the Fleete came in with fresh and yong able spirits, under the government of Captain Francis West, and of one hundred to the Seawards (on the South side of our River) in the Country of the Nansamundes, under the charge of Captaine John Martin, there did not so much as one man miscarry, and but very few or none fall sicke, whereas at James Towne, the same time, and the same moneths,

one hundred sickned, & halfe the number died: howbeit, as we condemne not Kent in England, for a small Towne called Plumsted, continually assaulting the dwellers there (especially new commers) with Agues and Fevers; no more let us lay scandall, and imputation upon the Country of Virginia, because the little Quarter wherein we are set downe (unadvisedly so chosed) appeares to be unwholesome, and subject to many ill ayres, which accompany the like marish places.

§. IIII.

[IV. ix. 1754.]

The Lord La Warres beginnings and proceedings in James Towne. Sir Thomas Gates sent into England; his and the Companies testimony of Virginia, and cause of the late miseries.

UPon his Lordship's landing at the South gate of the Pallizado (which lookes into the River) our Governour caused his Company in armes to stand in order, and make a Guard: It pleased him, that I should beare his Colours for that time: his Lordship landing, fell upon his knees, and before us all, made a long and silent Prayer to himselfe, and after, marched up into the Towne, where at the Gate, I bowed with the Colours, and let them fall at his Lordship's feete, who passed on into the Chappell, where he heard a Sermon by Master Bucke our Governours Preacher; and after that, caused a Gentleman, one of his owne followers, Master Anthony Scot his Ancient, to reade his Commission, which intituled him Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall during his life, of the Colony and Plantation in Virginia (Sir Thomas Gates our Governour hitherto, being now stiled therein Lieutenant Generall.)

Commission red. Lord La Warrs title. Sir T. Gates Lieutenant Generall.

After the reading of his Lordships Commission, Sir Thomas Gates rendred up unto his Lordship his owne Commission, both Patents, and the Counsell Seale: after

His speech.

which, the Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall, delivered some few words unto the Company, laying many blames upon them for many vanities, and their Idlenesse, earnestly wishing, that he might no more finde it so, least he should be compelled to draw the sword of Justice, to cut off such delinquents, which he had much rather, he protested, draw in their defence, to protect them from injuries; hartening them with the knowledge of what store of provisions he had brought for them, viz. sufficient to serve foure hundred men for one whole yeare.

Provisions brought.

The twelfth of June, being Tuesday, the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall, did constitute, and give places of Office, and charge to divers Captaines and Gentlemen, and elected unto him a Counsell, unto whom he did administer an Oath, mixed with the oath of Allegiance, and Supremacy to his Majestie: which oath likewise he caused to be administred the next day after to every particular member of the Colony, of Faith, Assistance, and Secrecy. The Counsaile which he elected were. Sir Thomas Gates Knight, Lieutenant Generall. Sir George Summers Knight, Admirall. Captaine Percy Esquire, and in the Fort Captaine of fifty. Sir Ferdinando Weinman Knight, Master of the Ordnance. Captaine Christopher Newport, Vice-admirall. William Strachei Esquire, Secretary, and Recorder.

Counsell chosen & sworne.

Colony sworn.

Officers appointed.

As likewise the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall, nominated Captaine John Martin, Master of the Battery workes for Steele and Iron: and Captaine George Webb Sergeant Major of the Fort: and especiall Captaines over Companies, were these appointed; Captaine Edward Bruster, who hath the command of his Honours owne Company. Captaine Thomas Lawson. Captain Thomas Holecroft. Captaine Samuell Argoll. Captaine George Yardley, who commandeth the Lieutenant Generals Company. Divers other Officers were likewise made, as Master Ralph Hamer, and Master Browne, Clarkes of the Counsell, and Master

Daniell Tucker, and Master Robert Wilde, Clarkes of the Store, &c.

The first businesse which the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall (after the setling of these Officers) thought upon, was to advise with his Counsell, for the obtaining of such provisions of victuals for store, and quality, as the Countrey afforded. It did not appeare, that any kinde of Flesh, Deere, or what else, of that kinde, could be recovered from the Indian, or to be sought in the Countrey, by the travaile or search of his people, and the old dwellers in the Fort (together with the Indians not to friend) who had the last winter, destroyed and killed up all the Hogges, insomuch, as of five or sixe hundred (as it is supposed) there was not one left alive; nor an Henne, nor Chicke in the Fort; and our Horses and Mares, they had eaten with the first, and the provision which the Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall had brought, concerning any kinde of flesh, was little or nothing; in respect it was not drempt of by the Adventurers in England, that the Swine were destroyed.

Sir G. Summers undertaketh to bring provisions from Bermudas.

In Counsell therefore the thirteenth of June, it pleased Sir George Summers Knight, Admirall, to propose a Voyage, which for the better reliefe, and good of the Colony, he would performe into the Bermudas, from whence he would fetch six moneths provision of Flesh and Fish, and some live Hogges to store our Colony againe: and had a Commission given unto him the fifteenth of June, 1610. who in his owne Bermuda Pinnace, the Patience, consorted with Captaine Samuell Argoll, in the Discovery (whom the Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall, made of the counsell before his departure) the nineteenth of June, fell with the Tyde from before our Towne, and the twenty two left the Bay, or Cape Henry a sterne.

And likewise, because at the Lord Governour, and Captaine General's first comming, there was found in our owne River no store of Fish; after many trials,

the Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall, dispatched in the Virginia, with instructions, the seventeenth of June, 1610. Robert Tyndall, Master of the De la Warre, to fish unto, all along, and betweene Cape Henry, and Cape Charles, within the Bay; who the last of the said moneth returned unto us againe, but as ill speeding as the former, whom our Governour (now Lieutenant Generall) had addressed thither before for the same purpose. Nor was the Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall in the meane while idle at the Fort, but every day and night hee caused the Nets to be hawled, sometimes a dozen times one after another. But it pleased not God so to blesse our labours, that we did at any time take one quarter so much, as would give unto our people one pound at a meale a peece, by which we might have better husbanded our Pease and Oatemeale, notwithstanding the great store we now saw daily in our River: but let the blame of this lye where it is, both upon our Nets, and the unskilfulnesse of our men to lay them.

**Ad Græcas Calendas. Can a Leopard change his spots? Can a Savage remayning a Savage be civill? Were not wee our selves made and not borne civill in our Progenitors dayes? and were not Cæsars Britaines as brutish as Virginians? The Romane swords were best teachers of civilitie to this & other Countries neere us.*

The sixth of July Sir Thomas Gates Lieutenant Generall, comming downe to Point Comfort, the North wind (blowing rough) he found had forced the long Boate belonging to Algernoone Fort, to the other shoare upon Nansamund side, somewhat short of Weroscoick: which to recover againe, one of the Lieutenant Generals men Humfrey Blunt, in an old Canow made over, but the wind driving him upon the Strand, certaine Indians (watching the occasion) seised the poore fellow, and led him up into the Woods, and sacrificed him. It did not a little trouble the Lieutenant Governour, who since his first landing in the Countrey (how justly soever provoked) would not by any meanes be wrought to a violent proceeding against them, for all the practises of villany, with which they daily indangered our men, thinking it possible,* by a more tractable course, to winne them to a better condition: but now being startled by this, he well perceived, how little a faire

and noble intreatie workes upon a barbarous disposition, and therefore in some measure purposed to be revenged.

The ninth of July, he prepared his forces, and early in the morning set upon a Towne of theirs, some foure miles from Algernoone Fort, called Kecoughtan, and had soone taken it, without losse or hurt of any of his men. The Governour and his women fled (the young King Powhatans Sonne not being there) but left his poore baggage, and treasure to the spoyle of our Souldiers, which was only a few Baskets of old Wheate, and some other of Pease and Beanes, a little Tobacco, and some few womens Girdles of Silke, of the Grasse-silke, not without art, and much neatnesse finely wrought; of which I have sent divers into England, (beeing at the taking of the Towne) and would have sent your Ladiship some of them, had they beene a Present so worthy. *Grasse silke.*

We purposed to set a Frenchman heere a worke to plant Vines, which grew naturally in great plentie. Some few Corne fields it hath, and the Corne in good forwardnesse, and wee despaire not but to bee able (if our men stand in health) to make it good against the Indian.

The continuall practices of the subtle King Powhatan, doth not meanely awaken all the powers and workings of vertue and knowledge, in our Lord Governour and Captaine Generall, how to prevent not only his mischiefes, but to draw him upon some better termes, and acknowledgement of our forces and spirits, both able and daring to quit him in any valiant and martiall course whatsoever, he shall dare to runne with us, which hee doth yet scarsly beleeve. For this therefore, since first, and that so lately, he hath set on his people, to attempt us with private Conspiracies and actuall violence, into the one drawing his Neighbour Confederates and under Princes, and by the other working the losse and death of divers of our men, and by such their

losse seising their Armes, Swords, Peeces, &c. of which he hath gathered into his store a great quantitie and number by Intelligence above two hundred Swords, besides Axes, and Pollaxes, Chissels, Howes, to paire and clense their ground, with an infinite treasure of Copper, our Lord Governour and Captaine Generall sent two Gentlemen with an Ambassie unto him, letting him to understand of his practises and outrage, hitherto used toward our people, not only abroad but at our Fort also: yet flattering him withall how the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall did not suppose, that these mischiefes were contrived by him, or with his knowledge, but conceived them rather to be the acts of his worst and unruly people, his Lordship therefore now complayning unto him required, that hee (being so great and wise a King) would give an universall order to his Subjects, that it might bee no more so, lest the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall should be compelled (by defending him and his) to offend him, which he would be loath to do: withall he willed the Messengers to demand of him the said Powhatan, that he would either punish or send unto his Lordship such of his people whom Powhatan knew well not long before, had assaulted our men at the Block-house, and but newly killed foure of them, as also to demaund of Powhatan, willing him to returne unto the English Fort, both such men as hee detayned of ours, and such Armes as he had of theirs in his possession, and those conditions performed, hee willed them to assure unto Powhatan that then their great Werowance, the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall would hold faire quarter, and enter friendship with him, as a friend to King James and his Subjects. But refusing to submit to these demands, the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall gave in charge to the Messengers, so sent to signifie unto Powhatan that his Lordship would by all meanes publike and private, seeke to recover from him such of the English as he had, being

English Armes treasured by Powhatan.

Message to Powhatan.

Subjects to his King and Master, unto whom even Powhatan himselfe had formerly vowed, not only friendship but homage, receiving from his Majestie therefore many gifts, and upon his knees a Crowne and Scepter with other Ornaments, the Symbols of Civill State and Christian Soveraigntie, thereby obliging himselfe to Offices of dutie to his Majestie. Unto all which Powhatan returned no other answere, but that either we should depart his Country, or confine our selves to James Towne only, without searching further up into his Land, or Rivers, or otherwise, hee would give in command to his people to kill us, and doe unto us all the mischiefe, which they at their pleasure could and we feared: withall forewarning the said Messengers, not to returne any more unto him, unlesse they brought him a Coach and three Horses, for hee had understood by the Indians which were in England, how such was the state of great Werowances, and Lords in England, to ride and visit other great men. [IV. ix. 1756.] *Powhatans homage.*

After this divers times, and daily hee sent sometimes two, sometimes three, unto our Fort, to understand our strength, and to observe our Watch & Guard, and how our people stood in health, and what numbers were arrived with this new Weroance: which being soone perceived our Lord Governour and Captaine Generall forewarned such his Spies, upon their owne perill, to resort no more unto our Fort. Howbeit, they would daily presse into our Block-house, and come up to our Pallizado gates, supposing the government as well now, as fantasticall and negligent in the former times, the whilest some quarter of a mile short of the Block-house, the greatest number of them would make assault, and lye in ambush about our Glasse-house, whether, divers times indeed our men would make out either to gather Strawberries, or to fetch fresh water; any one of which so stragled, if they could with conveniencie, they would assault and charge with their Bowes and Arrowes, in which manner they killed many

of our men: two of which being Paspaheans, who were ever our deadliest enemies, and not to be reconciled; at length being apprehended (and one of them a notable villaine, who had attempted upon many in our Fort) the Lord Governour caused them to be manacled, and convented before him and his Counsell, where it was determined that hee that had done so much mischiefe should have his right hand strooke off, sending him away withall, with a message to Powhatan, that unlesse hee would yet returne such Englishmen as he detayned, together with all such their Armes (as before spoken of) that not only the other (now Prisoner) should die, but all such of his Savages (as the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall, could by any meanes surprize) should runne the same course: as likewise the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall would fire all his Neighbour Corne Fieldes, Townes, and Villages, and that suddenly, if Powhatan sent not to contract with him the sooner.

What this will worke with him, wee know not as yet, for this was but the day before our ships were now falling to Point Comfort, and so to set sayle for England: which ships riding before Weroscoick to take in their fraight of Cedar, Clap-boord, Blacke Wal-nut, and Iron Oare, tooke Prisoners likewise the chiefe King of Weroscoick, called Sasenticum, with his Sonne Kainta, and one of his chiefe men. And the fifteenth day of July, in the Blessing Captaine Adams brought them to Point Comfort, where at that time (as well to take his leave of the Lieutenant Generall Sir Thomas Gates, now bound for England, as to dispatch the ships) the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall had pitched his Tent in Algernoone Fort.

King of Weroscoick taken prisoner.

Sir T. Gates bound for England.

The Kings Sonne Kainta the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall, hath sent now into England, untill the ships arrive here againe the next Spring, dismissing the old Werowance, and the other with all tearmes of kindnesse, and friendship, promising further designes to

bee effected by him, to which hee hath bound himselfe, by divers Savage Ceremonies, and admirations.

And thus (right Noble Ladie) once more this famous businesse, as recreated, and dipped a new into life and spirit, hath raysed it (I hope) from infamy, and shall redeeme the staines and losses under which she hath suffered, since her first Conception: your Graces still accompany the least appearance of her, and vouchsafe her to bee limmed out, with the beautie which wee will begge, and borrow from the faire lips: nor feare you, that shee will returne blushes to your cheekes for praysing her, since (more then most excellent Ladie) like your selfe (were all tongues dumbe and envious) shee will prayse her selfe in her most silence: may shee once bee but seene, or but her shadow lively by a skilfull Workman set out indeed, which heere (bungerly as I am) I have presumed (though defacing it) in these Papers to present unto your Ladiship.

After Sir Thomas Gates his arrivall, a Booke called A true Declaration of Virginia, was published by the Company, out of which I have heere inserted this their publike testimonie of the causes of the former evils and Sir Thomas Gates his Report upon Oath of Virginia.

THe ground of all those miseries, was the permissive Providence of God, who, in the fore-mentioned violent storme, seperated the head from the bodie, all the vitall powers of Regiment being exiled with Sir Thomas Gates in those infortunate (yet fortunate) Ilands. The broken remainder of those supplyes made a greater shipwracke in the Continent of Virginia, by the tempest of Dissention: every man over-valuing his owne worth, would be a Commander: every man underprizing anothers value, denied to be commanded.

The next Fountaine of woes was secure negligence, and improvidence, when every man sharked for his present bootie, but was altogether carelesse of succeeding penurie. Now, I demand whether Sicilia, or Sardinia [IV. ix. 1757.]

(sometimes the Barnes of Rome) could hope for increase without manuring? A Colony is therefore denominated, because they should be Coloni, the Tillers of the Earth, and Stewards of fertilitie: our mutinous Loyterers would not sow with providence, and therefore they reaped the fruits of too deere bought Repentance. An incredible example of their idlenesse, is the report of Sir Thomas Gates, who affirmeth, that after his first comming thither, he hath seene some of them eat their fish raw, rather then they would goe a stones cast to fetch wood and dresse it. Dei laboribus omnia vendunt, God sels us all things for our labour, when Adam himselfe might not live in Paradice without dressing the Garden.

Unto idlenesse, you may joyne Treasons, wrought by those unhallowed creatures that forsooke the Colonie, and exposed their desolate Brethren to extreame miserie. You shall know that eight and twentie or thirtie of the Company, were appointed (in the ship called the Swallow) to trucke for Corne with the Indians, and having obtained a great quantitie by trading, the most seditious of them, conspired together, perswaded some, and enforced others, to this barbarous project. They stole away the ship, they made a league amongst themselves to be professed Pirats, with dreames of Mountaines of Gold, and happie Robberies: thus at one instant, they wronged the hopes, and subverted the cares of the Colonie, who depending upon their returne, fore-slowed to looke out for further provision: they created the Indians our implacable enemies by some violence they had offered: they carried away the best ship (which should have beene a refuge in extremities:) they weakened our forces, by subtraction of their armes and succours. These are that scumme of men that sayling in their Piracie, that being pinched with famine and penurie, after their wilde roving upon the Sea, when all their lawlesse hopes failed, some remayned with other Pirates, they met upon the Sea, the others

resolved to returne for England, bound themselves by mutuall Oath, to agree all in one report to discredit the Land, to deplore the famine, and to protest that this their comming away, proceeded from desperate necessitie: These are they, that roared out the Tragicall Historie of the man eating of his dead Wife in Virginia; when the Master of this ship willingly confessed before fortie witnesses, that at their comming away, they left three monethes victuals, and all the Cattell living in the Fort: sometimes they reported that they saw this horrible action, sometimes that Captaine Davies said so, sometimes that one Beadle the Lieutenant of Captaine Davies did relate it, varying this report into diversitie of false colours, which hold no likenesse and proportion: But to cleere all doubts, Sir Thomas Gates thus relateth the Tragedie.

There was one of the Company who mortally hated his Wife, and therefore secretly killed her, then cut her in pieces and hid her in divers parts of his House: when the woman was missing, the man suspected, his House searched, and parts of her mangled bodie were discovered, to excuse himselfe he said that his Wife died, that he hid her to satisfie his hunger, and that hee fed daily upon her. Upon this, his House was againe searched, where they found a good quantitie of Meale, Oat-meale, Beanes and Pease. He thereupon was arraigned, confessed the Murder, and was burned for his horrible villany.

Now shall the scandalous reports of a viperous generation, preponderate the testimonies of so worthy Leaders? Shall their venemous tongues, blast the reputation of an ancient and worthy Peere, who upon the ocular certainty of future blessings, hath protested in his Letters, that he will sacrifice himselfe for his Countrie in this service, if he may be seconded; and if the Company doe give it over, hee will yet lay all his fortunes upon the prosecution of the Plantation? *Lord Lawarre.*

Unto Treasons, you may joyne covetousnesse in the

Mariners, who for their private lucre partly imbezeled the provisions, partly prevented our Trade with the Indians making the Matches in the night, and forestalling our Market in the day: whereby the Virginians were glutted with our Trifles, and inhaunced the prices of their Corne and Victuall. That Copper which before would have provided a bushell, would not now obtaine so much as a Pottle.

Joyne unto these another evill: there is great store of Fish in the River, especially of Sturgeon; but our men provided no more of them then for present necessitie, not barrelling up any store against that season the Sturgeon returned to the Sea. And not to dissemble their folly, they suffered fourteene nets (which was all they had) to rot and spoyle, which by orderly drying and mending might have beene preserved: but being lost, all helpe of fishing perished.

The state of the Colony, by these accidents began to finde a sensible declining: which Powhatan (as a greedy Vulture) observing, and boyling with desire of revenge, hee invited Captaine Ratcliffe, and about thirty others to trade for Corne, and under the colour of fairest friendship, hee brought them within the compasse of his ambush, whereby they were cruelly murthered and massacred. For upon confidence of his fidelitie, they went one and one into severall houses, which caused their severall destructions, when if but any sixe had remained together, they would have beene a Bulwarke for the generall preservation. After this, Powhatan in the night cut off some of our Boats, he drave away all the Deere into the farther part of the Countrey, hee and his people destroyed our Hogs (to the number of about sixe hundred) hee sent one of his Indians to trade with us, but layed secret ambushes in the Woods, that if one or two dropped out of the Fort alone, they were indangered.

[IV. ix. 1758.] Cast up the reckoning together: want of government, store of idlenesse, their expectations frustrated by the

Traytors, their market spoyled by the Mariners, our Nets broken, the Deere chased, our Boats lost, our Hogs killed, our trade with the Indians forbidden, some of our men fled, some murthered, and most by drinking of the brackish water of James Fort weakened and indangered, famine and sicknesse by all these meanes increased; here at home the monyes came in so slowly, that the Lord Laware could not bee dispatched till the Colony was worne and spent with difficulties: Above all, having neither Ruler, nor Preacher, they neither feared God, nor man, which provoked the wrath of the Lord of Hosts, and pulled downe his judgements upon them. Discite justitiam moniti.

The Councell of Virginia (finding the smalnesse of that returne, which they hoped should have defrayed the charge of a new supply) entred into a deepe consultation, and propounded amongst themselves, whether it were fit to enter into a new contribution, or in time to send for home the Lord La-ware, and to abandon the action. They resolved to send for Sir Thomas Gates, who being come, they adjured him to deale plainly with them, and to make a true relation of those things which were presently to be had, or hereafter to be hoped for in Virginia. Sir Thomas Gates with a solemne and sacred oath replied, that all things before reported were true: that the Countrey yeelded abundance of Wood, as Oake, Wainscot, Walnut Trees, Bay Trees, Ashe, Sarsafrase, live Oake, greene all the yeere, Cedar and Fir; which are the materialls, of Soape ashes, and Pot ashes, of Oyles of Walnuts, and Bayes, of Pitch and Tar, of Clapboards, Pipe-staves, Masts and excellent boards of fortie, fiftie, and sixtie length, and three foot breadth, when one Firre tree is able to make the maine Mast of the greatest Ship in England. He avouched that there are incredible varietie of sweet woods, especially of the Balsamum tree, which distilleth a precious Gumme; that there are innumerable white Mulberry trees, which in so warme a climate may cherish and feede millions of

Silke-wormes, and returne us in a very short time, as great a plenty of Silke as is vented into the whole world from all the parts of Italy: that there are divers sorts of Minerals, especially of Iron oare lying upon the ground for ten Miles circuite; (of which wee have made a triall at home, that it maketh as good Iron as any is in Europe:) that a kinde of Hempe or Flaxe, and Silke Grasse doe grow there naturally, which will affoord stuffe for all manner of excellent Cordage: That the River swarmeth with all manner of Sturgeon: the Land aboundeth with Vines; the Woods doe harbour exceeding store of Beavers, Foxes, and Squirrels; the Waters doe nourish a great encrease of Otters, all which are covered with precious Furres: that there are in present discovered Dyes and Drugges of sundry qualities; that the Orenges which have beene planted, did prosper in the winter, which is an infallible argument, that Lemmons, Sugar Canes, Almonds, Rice, Anniseede, and all other commodities which wee have from the Straights, may be supplied to us in our owne Countrey, and by our owne industry: that the Corne yeeldeth a terrible encrease more then ours: and lastly, that it is one of the goodliest Countries under the Sunne; enterveined with five maine Rivers, and promising as rich entrals as any Kingdome of the earth, to whom the Sunne is no neerer a neighbour.

Chap. VII.

The Voyage of Captaine Samuel Argal, from James Towne in Virginia, to seeke the Ile of Bermuda, and missing the same, his putting over toward Sagadahoc and Cape Cod, and so backe againe to James Towne, begun the nineteenth of June, 1610.

Ir George Summers, being bound for the Ile of Bermuda with two Pinnaces, the one called the Patience, wherein he sailed himselfe, set saile from James Towne in Virginia, the ninteenth of June, 1610. *June* 19. 1610. The two and twentieth at noone we came to an anchor at Cape Henry, to take more balast. The weather proved very wet: so wee road under the Cape till two of the clocke, the three and twentieth in the morning. Then we weighed and stood off to Sea, the wind at South-west. And till eight of the clocke at night it was all Southerly, and then that shifted to South-west. The Cape then bearing West, about eight leagues off. Then wee stirred away South-east. The foure and twentieth, at noone I observed the Sunne, and found my selfe to bee in thirtie sixe degrees, fortie seven minutes, about twentie leagues off from the Land. From the foure and twentieth at noone, to the five and twentieth at noone, sixe leagues East, the wind Southerly, but for the most part it was calme. From the five and twentieth at noone, to the sixe and twentieth about sixe of the clocke in the morning, the winde was all Southerly, and but little. And then it beganne to blow a fresh gale at West South-west. So by noone I had sailed fourteene leagues East, South-east pricked. From the sixe and twentieth at noone, to the seven and twentieth at noone, twentie leagues East, South-east. The wind

shifting from the West, South-west Southerly, and so to the East, and the weather faire, but close. From the seven and twentieth at noone, to the eight and twentieth at noone, sixe and twentie leagues East, South-east, the wind shifting backe againe from the East to the West. Then by mine observation I found the ship to be in thirtie five degrees fiftie foure minutes. From the eight and twentieth at noone, to the nine and twentieth at noone, thirtie sixe leagues East by South, the wind at West, North-west. Then by my observation I found the ship to be in thirtie five degrees, thirtie minutes pricked. From the nine and twentieth at noone, to the thirtieth at noone, thirtie five leagues East, South-east. The winde shifting betweene West, North-west, and West, South-west, blowing a good fresh gale. Then by my observation I found the ship to be in thirtie foure degrees, fortie nine minutes pricked. From the thirtieth of June at noone, to the first of July at noone, thirtie leagues South-east by East, the winde at west, then I found the ship in thirtie foure degrees pricked.

[IV. ix. 1759.]

From the first of July at noone, to the second at noon, twentie leagues East, South-east southerly, the wind West, then I found the ship to bee in thirtie three degrees, thirtie minutes pricked, the weather very faire. From the second at noone, to the third at foure of the clocke in the afternoone it was calme, then it beganne to blow a resonable fresh gale at South-east: so I made account that the ship had driven about sixe leagues in that time East. The sea did set all about the West. From that time to the fourth at noone, seventeene leagues East by North, the wind shifting betweene South-east and South South-west, then I found the ship to bee in thirtie three degrees, fortie minutes, the weather continued very faire. From the fourth at noone, to the fifth at noone, ten leagues South-east, the wind and weather as before, then I found the ship to be in thirtie three degrees, seventeene minutes pricked. From the fift at noone, to the sixt at noone, eight leagues South-

west, then I found the ship to be in thirtie two degrees, fiftie seven minutes pricked; the wind and weather continued as before, only we had a small showre or two of raine. From the sixt at noone, to the seventh at noone, seventeene leagues East by North, then I found the ship to be in thirtie three degrees, the wind and weather as before. From the seventh at noon, to the eight at noone, fourteene leagues North-east, then I found the ship to be in thirtie three degrees, thirtie two minutes, the wind and weather continued as before. From the eight at noon to the ninth at noone, five leagues South-east, there I found the ship to be in thirtie three degrees, twentie one minutes, 33. *degrees*, 21. *minutes*. the wind at South-west, the weather very faire. From the ninth at noone, to the tenth at noone, five leagues South, the wind westerly; but for the most part it was calme, and the weather very faire. From the tenth at noone, to the eleventh at noone it was calme, and *Calme*. so continued untill nine of the clocke the same night, then it began to blow a reasonable fresh gale at South-east, and continued all that night betweene South-east and South, and untill the twelfth day at noone: by which time I had sailed fifteene leagues West southerly: then I found the ship in thirtie three degrees, thirtie 33. *degrees*, minutes. From that time to foure of the clocke the 30. *minutes*. twelfth day in the morning twelve leagues West by North, the wind all southerly, and then it shifted betweene South and South-west, then wee tacked about and stood South-east, and South-east by South: so by noone I had sayled five leagues South-east by East; then I found the ship in thirtie three degrees ten minutes. From the thirteenth at noone, to the fourteenth at noone, twenty leagues South-east by East, the wind shifting betweene the South-west, and West South-west, then I found the ship to be in thirtie two degrees, thirtie five minutes. From the fourteenth at noone, to the fifteenth at noone, twentie leagues South-east, then I found the ship to be in thirty two degrees, the 32. *degrees*.

wind as before: then we tacked about, and lay North-west by West. From the fifteenth at noone, to the sixteenth at noone, twelve leagues North by West, the wind shifting betweene South-west and West, and the weather very stormy, with many sudden gusts of wind and rayne.

He speakes with the Admirall.

And about sixe of the clocke in the afternoone, being to windward of our Admirall I bare up under his lee: who when I hayled him, told me that he would tack it up no longer, because hee was not able to keepe the sea any longer, for lacke of a road and water: but that hee would presently steere away North North-west, to see if he could fetch Cape Cod. Which without delay he put in execution. His directions I followed: so from the sixteenth day at noone, to the seventeenth at noone I had sailed thirtie eight leagues North North-west: then I found my ship to be in thirtie foure degrees, ten minutes. The seventeenth and eighteenth dayes were very wet and stormy, and the winds shifting all points of the Compasse. The nineteenth day, about foure of the clocke in the morning it began to cleere up, and then we had a very stiffe gale betweene East and North-east. From the seventeenth at noone, to the nineteenth at noone, I had sayled fiftie five leagues North North-west, then I found the ship to be thirtie sixe degrees, thirty minutes. From the nineteenth at noone, to the twentieth at noone, thirty five leagues North-west: then I was in thirty seven degrees, fifty two minutes, the weather now was fairer and the wind all easterly. From the twentieth at noone, to the twentie one at noone, we sayled twenty leagues North by West, the wind betweene East and South-east, and the weather very faire: At the sunne setting I observed, and found thirteene degrees, and an halfe of westerly variation, and untill midnight we had a reasonable fresh gale of wind all southerly, and then it fell calme and rained, and so continued very little wind

They saile toward Cape Cod.

Westerly variation 13. degrees & a half.

untill the two and twentieth at noone, and shifting all the points of the Compasse: yet by mine observation that I made then, I found that the ship had run twentie five leagues North, for I found her to be in forty degrees, one minute, which maketh me thinke that there was some tide or current that did set Northward. Againe, those that had the second watch did say, That in their watch they did see a race, and that the ship did drive apace to the Northward, when she had not a breath of wind.

40. degrees, 1. minute. A current setting to the Northward.

From the two and twentieth at noone, untill ten of the clocke at night, we had a fresh gale of wind, betweene East and South-east, and then it shifted all westerly, and so continued untill two of the clocke the twenty three in the morning: and then it began to be very foggy and but little wind, yet shifting all the points of the Compasse, and so continued untill ten of the clocke, and then it began to cleere up. At twelve of the clocke I observed, and then I found the ship to be in fortie degrees fiftie minutes: so from the twenty two at noone, to the twenty three at noone I had sayled twenty leagues Northward. From the twenty three at noone, to the twenty foure, at three of the clocke in the morning it was calme, and then we had a reasonable fresh gale of wind all southerly, and so it continued untill noon southerly, in which time I had sailed twelve leagues North. And about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, we had forty seven fathoms of water, which water we did find to be changed into a grasse green in the morning, yet we would not heave a lead, because our Admirall was so farre on head of us: who about three of the clocke in the afternoone lay by the lee, and fished till I came up to him: and then I fitted my selfe and my boat, and fished untill sixe of the clocke. And then the Admirall fitted his sailes, and stirred away North, whom I followed with all the speed I could. But before seven of the clocke there fell such

[IV. ix. 1760.]

A great fog.

40. deg. 50. mi.

47. fathoms water. Water like unto a greene grasse.

They take fish.

A great fog. a myst, that I was faine to shoot off a Peece, which he answered with a Cornet that he had aboord. So with hallowing and making a noyse one to another all the night we kept company. About two of the clocke, the twenty five day in the morning we tooke in all our sailes, and lay at Hull untill five of the clocke: and then finding but small store of fish, we set saile and stirred away North-west, to fetch the mayne land to relieve our selves with wood and water, which we stood in great need of. About two of the clocke in the afternoone we tooke in all our sailes and lay at Hull, at which time I heaved the lead three times together, and had three sundry kindes *Sounding.* of soundings. The first a blacke peppery sand, full of peble stones. The second blacke peppery, and no stones: The third blacke peppery, and two or three stones.

From the fourth at noone, to the twentie five, at two of the clocke in the afternoone, I sayled thirteene leagues West North-west: and the weather continuing *Great fog and raine.* very foggy, thicke, and rainy, about five of the clocke it began to cease, and then we began to fish, and so continued untill seven of the clocke in betweene thirty and forty fathoms, and then we could fish no longer. So having gotten betweene twentie and thirty Cods, we left for that night: and at five of the clocke, the twenty sixe in the morning we began to fish againe, and so continued untill ten of the clocke, and then it would fish no longer: in which *100. Cods taken.* time we had taken neere one hundred Cods, and a couple of Hollybuts. All this while wee had betweene thirty and forty fathoms water: before one of the *The Ship driveth.* clocke in the afternoone we found the ship driven into one hundred and twenty fathoms, and soft blacke Ose. Then Sir George Somers sent me word, that *They stand for the River of Sagadahoc.* he would set saile, and stand in for the River of Sagadahoc; whose directions I followed.

Before two of the clocke we set saile, and stirred

away North-west by North, the wind South South-west, and the weather continued very fogy. About eight of the clocke wee tooke in all our sailes, and lay at Hull at that night. The seven and twentieth, about seven of the clocke in the morning we heaved the lead, and had no ground in one hundred and twentie fathoms. Then I shot off a Peece, but could not heare none answere from our Admirall: and the weather was so thicke, that we could not see a Cables length from our ship. Betweene nine and ten of the clock we did thinke that we did heare a Peece of Ordnance to windward: which made me suppose our Admirall had set saile, and that it was a warning piece from him. So I set sayle and stood close by the wind, and kept an hollowing and a noise to try whether I could find him againe: the wind was at South-west, and I stood away West North-west. From the sixe and twentieth, at two of the clocke in the afternoone, to eight of the clocke at night I had sayled nine leagues North-west. The seven and twentieth at noone I heaved the Lead, in one hundred and twenty fathoms, and had no ground. Then I stirred away North-west, till foure of the clocke at night: then I heaved the Lead againe one hundred and twenty fathoms, and had no ground. Then I tooke all my sailes and lay at Hull, and I had sayled seven leagues North-west. The eight and twentieth, at seven of the clocke in the morning I did sound in one hundred and twenty fathoms, and had no ground. Then I set sayle againe, and steered away North, and North by West. At noone I heaved in one hundred and twenty fathoms againe, and had no ground. So I steered on my course still, the wind shifted betweene South and South-west, and the fog continued. At foure of the clocke in the afternoone, I heaved one hundred twenty fathoms againe, and had no ground: so I stood on untill eight of the clocke, by which time I had sailed twelve leagues: then I heaved the Lead againe, and had blacke Ose, and one hundred thirty five fathoms

Verie foggie weather.

The thick fog continueth.

The fog continueth.

water. Then I tooke in all my sayles and lay at hull untill the nine and twentieth, at five of the clocke in the morning. Then I set saile againe, and steered away North, and North by West. At eight of the clocke I heaved the Lead againe, and had blacke Ose in one hundred and thirty fathoms water. Betweene eleven and twelve of the clocke it began to thunder, but the fogge continued not still. About two of the clocke in the afternoone, I went out with my Boat my selfe and heaved the Lead, and had blacke Ose in ninety fathoms water: by which time I had sailed six leagues North by West more. Then I tooke in all my sayles saving my Fore-course and Bonnet, and stood in with those sailes onely. About sixe of the clocke I sounded [IV. ix. 1761.] againe, and then I had sixty five fathoms water. Assoone as I came aboord it cleered up, and then I saw a small Iland, which bare North about two leagues off; whereupon I stood in untill eight of the clocke: And then I stood off againe untill two of the clocke in the morning the thirtieth day. Then I stood in againe, and about eight of the clocke I was faire aboord the Iland. Then I manned my Boat and went on shoare, where I found great store of Seales: And I killed three Seales with my hanger. This Iland is not halfe a mile about, and nothing but a Rocke, which seemed to be very rich Marble stone. And a South South-west Moon maketh a full Sea. About ten of the clocke I came aboord againe, with some Wood that I had found upon the Iland, for there had beene some folkes that had made fiers there. Then I stood over to another Iland that did beare North off me about three leagues; this small rockie Iland lyeth in forty foure degrees. About seven of the clocke that night I came to an anchor among many Ilands in eight fathoms water: and upon one of these Ilands I fitted my selfe with Wood and Water, and Balast.

The fog continueth.

A Rocke of Marble halfe a mile about full of Seales.

The smal rocky Iland lieth in 44. degrees. Many Ilands in eight fathoms water.

August 3. The third day of August, being fitted to put to Sea againe, I caused the Master of the ship to open the

boxe wherein my Commission was, to see what directions I had, and for what place I was bound to shape my course. Then I tried whether there were any fish there or not, and I found reasonable good store there; so I stayed there fishing till the twelfth of August: and then finding that the fishing did faile, I thought good to returne to the Iland where I had killed the Seales, to see whether I could get any store of them or not; for I did find that they were very nourishing meate, and a great reliefe to my men, and that they would be very well saved with salt to keepe a long time. But when I came thither I could not by any meanes catch any. The fourteenth day at noone I observed the Sun, and found the Iland to lie in forty three degrees, forty minutes. Then I shaped my course for Cape Cod, to see whether I could get any fish there or not: so by the fifteenth that noone, I had sailed thirty two leagues South-west, the wind for the most part was betweene North-west and North. From the fifteenth at noone, to the sixteenth at noone I ran twenty leagues South, the wind shifting betweene West and South-west. And then I sounded and had ground in eighteene fathoms water, full of shels and peble stones of divers colours, some greene, and some blewish, some like diamants, and some speckled. Then I tooke in all my sayles, and set all my company to fishing, and fished till eight of the clocke that night: and finding but little fish there, I set sayle againe, and by the seventeenth at noone I had sayled ten leagues West by North, the wind shifting betweene South and South-west. From noone, till sixe of the clocke at night, foure leagues North-west, the wind shifting betweene West and South-West. Then it did blow so hard that I tooke in all my sayles, and lay at hull all that night, untill five of the clock the eighteenth day in the morning: and then I set saile againe, and by noone I had sailed foure leagues North-west, the wind betweene West and South-west. From the eighteenth at noone, to the nineteenth at noone ten

Resonable store of fish.

Seale Rocke in 43. deg. 41. mi.

He returneth home.

leagues West by West, the wind shifting betweene South and South-west, and the weather very thick and foggy.

Thick and foggie weather.

About seven of the clocke at night the fogge began to breake away, and the wind did shift westerly, and by midnight it was shifted to the North, and there it did blow very hard untill the twenty at noone: but the weather was very cleere, and then by my observation I found the ship to bee in the latitude of forty one degrees, forty foure minutes, and I had sailed twenty leagues South-west by West. From the nineteenth at noone, to the twentieth at noone: about two of the clocke in the afternoone I did see an Hed-land, which did beare off me South-west, about foure leagues: so I steered with it, taking it to bee Cape Cod; and by foure of the clocke I was fallen among so many shoales, that it was five of the clocke the next day in the morning before I could get cleere of them, it is a very dangerous place to fall withall: for the shoales lie at the least ten leagues off from the Land; and I had upon one of them but one fathom and an halfe water, and my Barke did draw seven foot. This Land lyeth South-west, and North-east, and the shoales lie off from it South and South by West, and so along toward the North. At the North-west by West Guards I observed the North-starre, and found the ship to be in the latitude of fortie one degrees, fiftie minutes, being then in the middle of the Sholdes: and I did finde thirteene degrees of westerly variation then likewise. Thus finding the place not to be for my turne, assoon as I was cleere of these dangers, I thought it fit to returne to James Towne in Virginia, to the Lord De-lawarre, my Lord Governour, and there to attend his command: so I shaped my course for that place. And the one and twentieth day by noone I had brought my selfe South South-west thirtie three leagues from this Cape: and I had the wind shifting all this while betweene North and North-west, and the weather very faire and cleere. From the one and twentieth at noone, to the two

41. *deg.* 44. *mi.*

Cape Cod.

The sholdes of Cape Cod.

The middle of the Sholdes in 41. *deg.* 50. *mi.*

15. *degrees of westerly Variation.*

and twentieth at noone, I ran thirtie leagues South-West by West, and then by mine observation I found the ship to be in thirtie nine degrees, thirtie sixe minutes: and I had twelve degrees westerly variation, and the wind shifting betweene North and North-east, and the weather very faire and cleere. From the two and twentieth at noone, to the three and twentieth at noone, nine leagues South-west by West; and then by observation I did find the ship in thirtie nine degrees, twentie foure minutes, and I had eleven degrees of westerly variation: and there did blow but very little wind, and shifting betweene West and North, and the weather very faire and cleere. From the three and twentieth at noone to the foure and twentieth at noone eighteene leagues South-west, and then I found the shippe to be in thirtie eight degrees fortie two minutes: and I had twelve degrees of Westerly Variation, and the wind shifting betweene North and West, and the weather very faire.

12. *degrees of westerly Variation.*

11. *degrees of westerly Variation.*

[IV. ix. 1762.]

12. *degrees of Westerly variation.*

From the foure and twentieth at noone, to the five and twentieth at noone, two and twentie leagues West by South, the wind shifting betweene North and East. And then I found the ship to bee in thirtie eight degrees five and twentie minutes, and the same Variation that I had before, and the weather very faire.

From the five and twentieth at noone, to the six and twentieth at noone, five and twentie leagues Westerly, the wind all shifting betweene South and South-west. And I had thirteene degrees five and twentie minutes of Westerly Variation. About sixe of the clocke at night the water was changed, and then I sounded and had red sandie ground in twelve fathomes water about twelve leagues from the shore.

13. *deg.* 25. *mi. of Westerly variation.*

The seven and twentieth by day in the morning, I was faire aboord the shore, and by nine of the clocke I came to an Anchor in nine fathomes in a very great Bay, where I found great store of people which were very kind, and promised me that the next day in the

morning they would bring me great store of Corne. But about nine of the clocke that night the winde shifted from South-west to East North-east. So I weighed presently, and shaped my course to Cape Charles. This Bay lyeth in Westerly thirtie leagues. And the Souther Cape of it lyeth South South-east and North North-west, and in thirtie eight degrees twentie minutes of Northerly Latitude.

Many shoales 12. leagues to the South of Cape La Warre.

The eight and twentieth day, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone I fell among a great many of shoales, about twelve leagues to the Southward of Cape La Warre. So there I came to an Anchor in three fathomes water, the winde beeing then all Easterly, and rode there all that Night.

The nine and twentieth in the morning I weighed againe, the wind being all Southerly, and turned untill night, and then I came to an Anchor in seven fathomes water in the offing to Sea.

How the tyde did set there, or whether that there did run any current or not, I cannot say; but I could find neither current nor tyde.

The thirtieth in the morning I weighed againe, the wind still Southerly, and turned all that day, but got very little, so at Evening I stood off to Sea untill midnight, and then stood in againe.

Cape Charles.

The one and thirtieth, about seven of the clocke at night I came to an Anchor under Cape Charles in foure fathomes, and one third part water, and rode there all that night.

Chap. VIII.

A short Relation made by the Lord De-La-Warre, to the Lords and others of the Counsell of Virginia, touching his unexpected returne home, and afterwards delivered to the generall Assembly of the said Company, at a Court holden the twentie five of June, 1611. Published by authoritie of the said Counsell.

My Lords, &c.

BEing now by accident returned from my Charge at Virginia, contrary either to my owne desire or other mens expectations, who spare not to censure mee, in point of dutie, and to discourse and question the reason, though they apprehend not the true cause of my returne, I am forced (out of a willingnesse to satisfie every man) to deliver unto your Lordships, and the rest of this Assembly, briefly (but truly) in what state I have lived, ever since my arrivall to the Colonie; what hath beene the just occasion of my sudden departure thence; and in what termes I have left the same: The rather because I perceive, that since my comming into England, such a coldnesse and irresolution is bred in many of the Adventurers, that some of them seeke to withdraw those payments, which they have subscribed towards the Charge of the Plantation, and by which that Action must be supported and mayntained, making this my returne, the colour of their needlesse backwardnesse and unjust protraction. Which, that you may the better understand, I must informe your Lordships, that presently after my arrivall in James Towne, I was welcommed by a hot and violent Ague, which held me a time, till by the advice of my Physition, Doctour

Lawrence Bohun (by bloud letting) I was recovered as in my first Letters by Sir Thomas Gates, I have informed you. That Disease had not long left me, till (within three weekes after I had gotten a little strength) I began to be distempered with other grievous sicknesses, which successively and severally assailed mee: for besides a relapse into the former Disease, which with much more violence held me more then a moneth, and brought me to great weaknesse, the Flux surprized mee, and kept me many dayes; then the Crampe assaulted my weake bodie, with strong paines; and afterwards the Gout (with which I had heretofore beene sometime troubled) afflicted me in such sort, that making my bodie through weaknesse unable to stirre, or to use any manner of exercise, drew upon me the Disease called the Scurvy; which though in others it be a sicknesse of slothfulnesse, yet was in me an effect of weaknesse, which never left mee, till I was upon the point to leave the World.

Lord La Warres many sicknesses.

[IV. ix. 1763.]

These severall Maladies and Calamities, I am the more desirous to particularise unto your Lordshippes (although they were too notorious to the whole Colonie) lest any man should misdeeme that under the generall name and common excuse of sicknesse, I went about to cloke either sloth, or feare, or any other base apprehension, unworthy the high and Honorable Charge, which you had entrusted to my Fidelitie.

In these extremities I resolved to consult my friends, Who finding Nature spent in mee, and my body almost consumed, my paines likewise daily encreasing, gave me advise to prefer a hopefull recovery, before an assured ruine, which must necessarily have ensued, had I lived but twentie dayes longer in Virginia: wanting at that instant, both food and Physicke, fit to remedy such extraordinary Diseases, and restore that strength so desperately decayed.

Whereupon, after a long consultation held, I resolved by generall consent and perswasion, to ship my selfe for

Mevis, an Island in the West Indies, famous for wholsesome Bathes, there to try what helpe the Heavenly Providence would affoord mee, by the benefit of the hot Bath: but God, who guideth all things, according to his good will and pleasure, so provided, that after we had sayled an hundred Leagues, we met with Southerly windes which forced mee to change my purpose (my bodie being altogether unable to endure the tediousnesse of a long Voyage) and so steere my course for the Westerne Ilands, which I no sooner recovered, then I found helpe for my health, and my sicknesse asswaged, by meanes of fresh Diet, and especially of Orenges and Lemons, an undoubted remedy and medicine for that Disease, which lastly, and so long, had afflicted me: which ease as soone as I found, I resolved (although my body remayned still feeble and weake) to returne backe to my charge in Virginia againe, but I was advised not to hazard my selfe before I had perfectly recovered my strength, which by counsell I was perswaded to seeke in the naturall Ayre of my Countrey, and so I came for England. In which Accident, I doubt not but men of reason, and of judgement will imagine, there would more danger and prejudice have happened by my death there, then I hope can doe by my returne.

Orenges and Lemons good remedie for the Scurvie.

In the next place, I am to give account in what estate I left the Colonie for government in my absence. It may please your Lordships therefore to understand, that upon my departure thence, I made choice of Captaine George Percie (a Gentleman of honour and resolution, and of no small experience in that place) to remayne Deputie Governour, untill the comming of the Marshall Sir Thomas Dale, whose Commission was likewise to be determined, upon the arrivall of Sir Thomas Gates, according to the intent and order of your Lordships, and the Councell here.

Master George Percie Deputie till the comming of Sir T. Dale Marshall.

The number of men I left there, were upward of two hundred, the most in health, and provided of a least ten moneths victuals, in their Store-house (which

200. *left there.*

is daily issued unto them) besides other helps in the Countrey, lately found out by Captaine Argoll by trading with pettie Kings in those parts, who for a small returne of a piece of Iron, Copper, &c. have consented to trucke great quantities of Corne, and willingly imbrace the intercourse of Traffique, shewing unto our people certaine signes of amitie and affection.

Trade by Cap. Argoll.

And for the better strengthening and securing of the Colonie, in the time of my weaknesse there, I tooke order for the building of three severall Forts, two of which are seated neere Point Comfort, to which adjoyneth a large circuit of ground, open, and fit for Corne: the third Fort is at the Falls, upon an Iland invironed also with Corne ground. These are not all manned, for I wanted the commoditie of Boats, having but two, and one Barge, in all the Countrey, which hath beene cause that our fishing hath beene (in some sort) hindered for want of those provisions, which easily will be remedied when we can gaine sufficient men to bee imployed about those businesses, which in Virginia I found not: but since meeting with Sir Thomas Gates at the Cowes neere Portsmouth, (to whom I gave a particular account of all my proceedings, and of the present estate of the Colonie as I left it) I understood those wants are supplyed in his Fleet.

Three Forts.

Sir T. Gates his second voyage.

The Country is wonderfull fertile and very rich, and makes good whatsoever heretofore hath beene reported of it, the Cattell alreadie there, are much encreased, and thrive exceedingly with the pasture of that Countrie: The Kine all this last Winter, though the ground was covered most with Snow, and the Season sharpe, lived without other feeding then the grasse they found, with which they prospered well, and many of them readie to fall with Calve: Milke beeing a great nourishment and refreshing to our people, serving also (in occasion) as well for Physicke as for food, so that it is in no way to be doubted, but when it shall please God that Sir Thomas Dale, and Sir Thomas Gates, shall arrive in Virginia, with

their extraordinary supply of one hundred Kine, and two hundred Swine, besides store of all manner of other provisions for the sustenance and maintenance of the Colonie, there will appeare that successe in the Action as shall give no man cause of distrust that hath alreadie adventured, but encourage every good minde to further so worthy a worke, as will redound both to the glory of God, to the credit of our Nation, and to the comfort of all those that have beene Instruments in the furthering of it.

100. *Kine and* 200. *Swine sent.*

[IV. ix. 1764.]

The last Discovery, during my continuall sicknesse, was by Captaine Argoll, who hath found a Trade with Patamack (a King as great as Powhatan, who still remaynes our Enemie, though not able to doe us hurt.) This is in a goodly River called Patomack, upon the borders whereof there are growne the goodliest Trees for Masts, that may bee found else-where in the World: Hempe better then English: growing wild in abundance: Mynes of Antimonie and Lead.

K. and R. Patamack.

There is also found without our Bay to the Northward an excellent fishing Banke for Cod and Ling, as good as can be eaten, and of a kind that will keepe a whole yeere in ships hold, with little care; a triall whereof I now have brought over with me. Other Ilands there are upon our Coasts, that doe promise rich Merchandize, and will further exceedingly the establishing of the Plantation, by supply of many helpes, and will speedily affoord a returne of many worthy commodities.

I have left much ground in part manured to receive Corne, having caused it the last Winter to be sowed for Roots, with which our people were greatly releeved. There are many Vines planted in divers places, and doe prosper well, there is no want of any thing, if the action can be upheld with constancie and resolution.

Lastly, concerning my selfe and my course, though the World may imagine that this Countrie and Climate, will (by that which I have suffered beyond any other of that Plantation) ill agree with the state of my bodie, yet I am

so farre from shrinking or giving over this honourable Enterprize, as that I am willing and readie to lay all that I am worth upon the adventure of the Action, rather then so Honourable a Worke should faile, and to returne with all the convenient expedition I may, beseeching your Lordships and the rest, not onely to excuse my former wants, happened by the Almightie Hand: but to second my Resolutions with your friendly indevours: that both the State may receive Honour, your selves Profit, and I future Comfort, by beeing imployed (though but as a weake Instrument) in so great an Action.

And thus having plainly, truly, and briefly delivered the cause of my returne, with the state of our affaires, as we now stand, I hope every worthy and indifferent hearer, will by comparing my present resolution of returne, with the necessitie of my comming home, rest satisfied with this true and short Declaration.

Chap. IX.

A Letter of Sir Samuell Argoll touching his Voyage to Virginia, and Actions there: Written to Master Nicholas Hawes. June 1613.

MAster Hawes, within seven weekes after my departure from the Coast of England, being the three and twentieth of July, 1612. I fell with the Coast of Virginia, in the Latitude of fortie degrees. The twelfth of September, with all my men in good health, the number being sixtie two, and all my victuals very well conditioned: my course being fiftie leagues to the Northward of the Azores. The seventeenth, I arrived at Point Comfort, where by the discreet and provident government of Sir Thomas Gates, and great paines and hazard of Sir Thomas Dale, I found both the Countrey and people in farre better estate there,

Sir T. Gates.
Sir T. Dale.

then the report was by such as came home in Sir Robert Mansfields ship. From my arrivall untill the first of November, I spent my time in helping to repaire such ships and Boats, as I found heere decayed for lacke of Pitch and Tarre: and in pursuing the Indians with Sir Thomas Dale, for their Corne, of which we got some quantitie, which we were like to have bought very deerely: for by the Providence of God, Sir Thomas Dale escaped killing very narrowly. Then about the beginning of November, by the advice of Sir Thomas Gates, I carried Sir Thomas Dale to Sir Thomas Smiths Iland, to have his opinion of the inhabiting of it: who, after three dayes march in discovering it, approved very well of the place: and so much the better, because we found abundance of fish there, and very great Cod, which we caught in five fathome water, of which we are in hope to get a great quantitie this Summer, for the reliefe of our men, as also to find safe passage for Boats and Barges thither, by a cut out of the bottome of our Bay, into the De la Warre Bay. For which fishing and better Discovery, I have my ship readie, with my Company in as good health, as at my arrivall, and as they have continued ever since: for which, God be glorified, to whom we give daily thankes, for the continuance of his mercy.

The Deliverance. This was in the River of Nansamund. His Voyage to Sir T. Smiths Iland.

De la War Bay.

After my returne from Sir Thomas Smiths Iland, I fitted my ship to fetch Corne from Patowomeck, by trading with the Indians, and so set sayle from Point Comfort the first of December: and being entred into Penbrooke River, I met with the King of Pastancie a hunting, who went presently aboord with me, seeming to be very glad of my comming, and told me that all the Indians there were my very great friends, and that they had good store of Corne for mee, which they had provided the yeere before, which we found to be true. Then I carried my ship presently before his Towne, and there built me a stout shallop, to get the Corne aboord withall, which being done, and having concluded a peace with

His first Voyage to Patowomec and Penbrooke River. Ayapassus the Weroance of Pastancie.

divers other Indian Lords, and likewise given and taken * Hostages: I hasted to James Towne, beeing the first of January, and arrived at Point Comfort the first of February.

**Cap. Web, Ensigne Swift, & Rob. Sparkes & two Boyes.*

In this Voyage I got 1100. bushels of Corne, which I delivered into the severall Store-houses, according unto the direction of Sir T. Gates: besides the quantitie of 300. bushels, reserved for mine Company. As soone I had unladen this Corne, I set my men to the felling of Timber, for the building of a Frigat, which I left halfe finished in the hands of the Carpenters at Point Comfort, the 19. of March: and returned my selfe with the ship into Pembrook River, and so discovered to the head of it, which is about 65. leagues into the Land, and navigable for any ship. And then marching into the Countrie, I found great store of Cattle as big as Kine, of which, the Indians that were my guides, killed a couple which wee found to be very good and wholsome meate, and are very easie to be killed, in regard they are heavy, slow, and not so wild as other beasts of the Wildernesse. In this journie I likewise found a Myne, of which I have sent a triall into England: and likewise a strange kind of Earth, the vertue whereof I know not; but the Indians eate it for Physicke, alleaging that it cureth the sicknesse and paine of the belly. I likewise found a kind of water issuing out of the Earth, which hath a tart taste much like unto Allum-water, it is good and wholsome: for my men did drinke much of it, and never found it otherwise. I also found an earth like a Gumme, white and cleere; another sort red, like Terra sigillata; another very white, and of so light a substance, that being cast into the water, it swimmeth.

1100. *bushels of Corne.*

The second voyage to Penbrooke River. Note.

Great store of Oxen in Penbrooke River.

A Myne.

A medicinable Earth.

A water that hath the taste of Allum.

An Earth like Gumme.

A red Earth like Terra sigillata.

Whilst I was in this businesse, I was told by certaine Indians, my friends, that the Great Powhatans Daughter Pokahuntis was with the great King Patowomeck, whether I presently repaired, resolving to possesse my selfe of her by any stratagem that I could use, for the ransoming of so many Englishmen as were prisoners with

The great King Patowomeck.

Powhatan: as also to get such armes and tooles, as hee, and other Indians had got by murther and stealing from others of our Nation, with some quantitie of Corne, for the Colonies reliefe. So soone as I came to an anchor before the Towne, I manned my Boate and sent on shoare, for the King of Pastancy and Ensigne Swift (whom I had left as a pledge of our love and truce, the Voyage before) who presently came and brought my pledge with him: whom after I had received, I brake the matter to this King, and told him, that if he did not betray Pokohuntis into my hands; wee would be no longer brothers nor friends. Hee alleaged, that if hee should undertake this businesse, then Powhatan would make warres upon him and his people; but upon my promise, that I would joyne with him against him, hee repaired presently to his brother, the great King of Patowomeck, who being made acquainted with the matter, called his Counsell together: and after some few houres deliberation, concluded rather to deliver her into my hands, then lose my friendship: so presently, he betrayed her into my Boat, wherein I carried her aboord my ship. This done, an Indian was dispatched to Powhatan, to let him know, that I had taken his Daughter: and if he would send home the Englishmen (whom he deteined in slaverie, with such armes and tooles, as the Indians had gotten, and stolne) and also a great quantitie of Corne, that then, he should have his daughter restored, otherwise not. This newes much grieved this great King, yet, without delay, he returned the messenger with this answer. That he desired me to use his Daughter well, and bring my ship into his River, and there he would give mee my demands; which being performed, I should deliver him his Daughter, and we should be friends.

Ensigne Swift.

Pocahuntis taken.

Having received this answere, I presently departed from Patowomeck, being the 13. of Aprill, and repayred with all speed to Sir T. Gates, to know of him upon what condition he would conclude this peace, and what he

would demand: to whom I also delivered my prisoner, towards whose ransome within few dayes, this King sent
7. men freed. home seven of our men, who seemed to be very joyfull for that they were freed from the slavery and feare of cruell murther, which they daily before lived in. They brought also three pieces, one broad Axe, and a long Whip-saw, and one Canow of Corne. I beeing quit of my prisoner, went forward with the Frigat which I had left at Point Comfort, and finished her.

Thus having put my ship in hand to be fitted for an intended fishing Voyage, I left that businesse to be followed by my Master with a ginge of men, and my Lieutenant fortified on shoare with another ginge to fell timber, and cleave plankes to build a fishing Boat; my Ensigne with another ginge was imployed in the Frigat, for getting of fish at Cape Charles, and transporting it to Henries Towne for the reliefe of such men as were there: and my selfe with a fourth ginge departed out of the River in my shallop, the first of
His third Discovery. May, for to discover the East side of our Bay, which I found to have many small Rivers in it, and very good harbours for Boats and Barges, but not for ships of any great burthen: and also great store of Inhabitants, who seemed very desirous of our love, and so much the rather, because they had received good reports from the Indians of Pembrock River, of our courteous usage of them, whom I found trading with me for Corne, whereof they had great store. We also discovered a multitude of Ilands bearing good Medow ground, and as I thinke, Salt might easily be made there, if there
Kerned Salt found. were any ponds digged, for that I found Salt kerned where the water had over-flowne in certaine places. Here is also great store of fish, both shel-fish and other. So having discovered along the shore some fortie leagues
May 12. 1613. Northward, I returned againe to my ship, the twelfth of May, and hasted forward my businesse left in hand at my departure: and fitted up my ship, and built my fishing Boate, and made readie to take the first oppor-

tunitie of the wind for my fishing Voyage, of which I beseech God of his mercy to blesse us.

Chap. X.

[IV. ix. 1766.]

Notes of Virginian Affaires in the government of Sir Thomas Dale and of Sir Thomas Gates till Anno 1614. Taken out of Master Ralph Hamor (Secretary to the Colonie) his Booke.

WE found the Colonie at our arrivall there, from the Bermudas, not living above threescore persons therein, and those scarce able to goe alone, of wel-nigh six hundred, not full ten monethes before. The reason hereof is at hand, for formerly, when our people were fed out of the common store, and laboured joyntly in the manuring of the ground, and planting Corne, glad was that man that could slip from his labour; nay, the most honest of them in a generall businesse, would not take so much faithfull and true paines, in a weeke, as now hee will doe in a day, neither cared they for the increase, presuming that howsoever their harvest prospered, the generall store must maintayne them. By which meanes we reaped not so much Corne from the labours of thirtie men, as three men have done for themselves. To prevent which mischiefe hereafter Sir Thomas Dale hath taken a new course, throughout the whole Colonie, by which meanes, the generall store (apparell onely excepted) shall not bee charged with any thing: and this it is, hee hath allotted to every man in the Colonie, three English Acres of cleere Corne ground, which every man is to mature and tend, being in the nature of Farmers (the Bermuda undertakers onely excepted) and they are not called unto any service or labour belonging to the Colonie, more then one moneth in the yeere, which shall neither be in Seed time, or in Harvest, for which, doing no other dutie

Every mans care is no mans. Proprietie is a proper painestaker.

Sir Thom Dales good government.

to the Colonie, they are yeerely to pay into the store two barrels and a halfe of Corne: there to bee reserved to keepe new men, which shall bee sent over the first yeere after their arrivall: and even by this meanes I dare say, our store will bee bountifully furnished, to maintayne three or foure hundred men, whensoever they shall be sent thither to us.

Bermuda Citie.

Concerning the undertaking of the Bermuda Citie, a businesse of greatest hope, ever begunne in our Territories there, their Patent, doth apparently demonstrate, upon what termes and conditions they voluntarily have undertaken that imployment. The Land is stored with plentie and varietie of wild Beasts, Lions, Beares, Deere of all sorts, onely differing from ours in their increase, having usuall, three or foure Fawnes at a time, none that I have seene or heard of under two: the reason whereof some of our people ascribe to the vertue of some grasse or herbe which they eate, because our Goates oftentimes bring forth three, and most of them two: for my part I rather impute their fecunditie to the Providence of God, who for every mouth provideth meate, and if this increase were not, the Naturals would assuredly starve: for of the Deere they kill (as doe we Beefes in England) all the yeere long, neither sparing young nor olde, no not the Does readie to fawne, nor the young Fawnes, (if but two dayes olde) Beavers, Otters, Foxes, Racounes, almost as bigge as a Foxe, as good meate as a Lambe, Hares, wild Cats, Muske Rats, Squirrels flying, and other of three or four sorts, Apossumes of the bignesse and likenesse of a Pigge of a moneth old, a beast of as strange incredible nature, she hath commonly seven young ones, sometimes more and sometimes lesse, which at her pleasure till they be a moneth old or more shee taketh up into her belly, and putteth forth againe without hurt to her selfe or them. Of each of these beasts, the Lion excepted, my selfe have many times eaten, and can testifie that they are not onely tastefull, but also wholsome and nourishing food.

Deere have 3. or 4. Fawnes at a time.

Apossumes.

There are fowle of divers sorts, Eagles wild Turkeyes much bigger then our English Cranes, Herons white and russet Hawkes, wilde Pidgeons (in Winter beyond number or imagination, my selfe have seene three or foure houres together flockes in the Aire, so thicke that even they have shadowed the Skie from us) Turkeyes, Buzzards, Partridge, Snipes, Owles, Swannes, Geese, Brants, Ducke and Mallard, Droeis, Shel-drakes, Cormorants, Teale, Widgeon, Curlewes, Puits, besides other small birds, as Black-birds, Hedge-Sparrowes, Oxe-eyes, Wood-peckers, and in Winter about Christmasse many flockes of Parakertoths. *Strange store of fowle, as before in Oviedo.*

For fish, the Rivers are plentifully stored, with Sturgeon, Porpasse, Base, Rockfish, Carpe, Shad, Herring, Ele, Catfish, Perch, Flat-fish, Trout, Sheepes-head, Drummers, Jarfish, Crevises, Crabbes, Oysters and divers other kindes, of all which my selfe hath seene great quantitie taken, especially the last Summer at Smiths Iland, at one hale a Frigots lading of Sturgion, Base and other great fish in Captaine Argals Saine: and even at the very place which is not above fifteene miles from Point Comfort, if we had beene furnished with salt, to have saved it, wee might have taken as much fish as would have served us that whole yeere. *A Frigats lading taken at one draught.*

To goe yet a little further, I my selfe know no one Countrey yeelding without Art or industry so many fruits; Grapes, Strawberries, Mulberries, Maricocks, of fashion of a Lemmon, whose blossome may admit comparison with our most delightsome and beautifull Flowers, and the fruit exceeding pleasant and tastfull: Chesnut-trees towardes the Falls as many as Oakes, and as fertill, many goodly Groves of Chincomen-trees, with a huske like unto a Chesnut, raw or boiled, luscious and heartie meat: Walnuts of three or foure sorts, whereof there might bee yeerely made great quantitie of Oyles, as usefull and good as that of Olives: Some Filberds have I seene, Crabs great store, lesse, but not so sower as ours, *Faire flowres.* [IV. ix. 1767.] *Crabs.*

which grafted with the Siens of English Apple-trees, without question would beare very good fruit.

Sir Tho. Dales going to Virginia, A. 1611. in eight weekes. Retchlesse wretches.

In May, 1611. Sir Thomas Dale, with a prosperous passage, not full eight weekes arrived there, with him about three hundred people, such as for the present speed and dispatch could then bee provided, of worse condition then those formerly there, who I sorrow to speake it, were not so provident, though once before bitten with hunger and penury, as to put Corne into the ground for their Winters bread, but trusted to the store, then furnished but with eight months provision. His first care therefore was to imploy all hands about setting of Corne at the two Forts, seated upon Kecoughtan, Henry and Charles, whereby the season then not fully past, though about the end of May, we had there an indifferent Crop of good Corne.

His care and imploiment.

This businesse taken order for, and the care and trust of it committed to his under Officers; to James Towne hee hastened, where the most company were, and their daily and usuall workes bowling in the streets, these he imployed about necessary workes, as felling of Timber, repairing their houses ready to fall upon their heads, and providing Pailes, Posts and Railes, to impaile his purposed new Towne, which by reason of his ignorance in those parts, but newly arrived there, he had not resolved where to seat. For his better knowledge therefore of those parts, himselfe with an hundreth men spent some time in the discovery, first of Nansamund River, which in despight of the Indians, then our enemies, hee discovered to the Head, after that, our owne River to the Falls, where upon a high Land, invironed with the maine River, some sixteene or twentie miles from the Head or the Falls, neere to an Indian Towne called Arsahattocke, hee resolved to plant his new Towne, and so did, whereof in his due place I shall make a briefe relation.

R. Nansamund. Wise severitie remedie to slothfull securitie.

It was no meane trouble to him, to reduce his people so timely to good order, being of so ill a condition as may

well witnesse his severe and strict imprinted booke of Articles, then needfull with all severitie and extremitie to bee executed, now much mitigated; for more deserved death in those dayes, then doe now the least punishment, so as if the law should not have restrained by execution, I see not how the utter subversion and ruine of the Colony should have beene prevented, witnesse Webbes and Prises designe in the first yeere, since that Abbots, and others more dangerous then the former, and even in this Summer, Coles and Kitchins Plot, with three more, bending their course towards the Southward, to a Spanish plantation reported to be there, who had travelled (it being now a time of peace) some five daies journey to Ocanahoen, there cut off by certaine Indians, hired by us to hunt them home to receive their deserts.

Thus much obviously I proceed in his indevours, untill Sir Thomas Gates his happy arrivall, which was onely in preparing Timber, Pales, Posts, and Railes for the present impailing this new Towne to secure himselfe, and men from the malice and treacherie of the Indians, in the midst and heart of whom he was resolved to set downe. But before he could make himselfe readie for that businesse, Sir Thomas Gates happily arrived about the second of August, with sixe good Ships, men, provisions and cattle.

Arrivall of Sir Tho. Gates, with sixe ships.

The worthies being met, after salutation and welcome given and received, Sir Thomas Dale acquainted Sir Thomas Gates, both with such businesses as he had affected since his arrivall, and also of his resolution to build a new Towne at the Fales: which designe and purpose of his, Sir Thomas Gates, then principall Governour in Virginia, well approving, furnished him with three hundred and fiftie men, such as himselfe made choice of, and in the beginning of September, 1611. hee set from James Towne, and in a day and a halfe landed at a place where hee purposed to seat and build, where hee had beene ten daies before hee had verie strongly impaled seven English Acres of ground for

a Towne, which in honour of the Noble Prince Henry (of ever happy and blessed memory, whose Royall heart was strongly affected to that action) hee called by the name of Henrico. In foure moneths space, he had made Henrico much better, and of more worth then all the worke ever since the Colony began, therein done. I should bee too tedious if I should give up the account of every daies labour, which therefore I purposely omit, and will onely describe the Towne, in the very state and perfection which I left it, and first for the situation, it stands upon a necke of a very high Land, three parts thereof invironed with the maine River, and cut out between two Rivers with a strong Pale, which maketh the neck of Land an Iland. There are in this Town three streets of well framed houses, a handsome Church & the foundation of a more stately one laid of Brick, in length an hundred foot, and fiftie foot wide, besides Store-houses, Watch-houses, and such like: there are also, as ornaments belonging to this Towne, upon the Verge of this River, five faire Block-houses, or Commanders, wherein live the honester sort of people, as in Farmes in England, and there keepe continuall centinell for the Townes securitie, and about two miles from the Towne into the Main, a Pale of two miles in length cut over from River to River, guarded likewise with severall Commanders, with great quantitie of Corne ground impaled, sufficient if there were no more in the Colony secured, to maintaine with but easie manuring, and husbandry, more men, then I suppose will be addressed thither (the more is the pittie) these three yeeres.

Henrico built by Sir T. Dale.

[IV. ix. 1768.]

For the further enlargement yet of this Towne, on the other side of the River, by impaling likewise: for we make no other fence, is secured to our use, especially for our hogges to feed in, about twelve English miles of ground, by name, Hope in Faith, Coxen-Dale, secured by five Forts, called Charity Fort, Mount Malado, a Retreat or Guest-house for sicke people, a high seate, and whol-

some ayre, Elizabeth Fort, and Fort Patience: and here hath Master Whitacres chosen his Parsonage, or Church-land, some hundred Acres impaled, and a faire framed Parsonage house built thereupon, called Rocke Hall. Of this Towne, and all the Forts thereunto belonging, hath Captaine James Davis the principall Command and Government.

I proceed to our next and most hopefull habitation, whether wee respect commoditie or securitie (which we principally ayme at) against forraine designes and invasion, I meane the Bermuda Citie, begun about Christmasse last, which because it is the neerest adjoyning to Henrico, though the last undertaken, I hold it pertinent to handle in the next place. This Towne, or Plantation is seated by Land, some five miles from Henrico, by water fourteene, being the yeere before the habitation of the Appamatucks, to revenge the treacherous injurie of those people done unto us, taken from them, besides all their Corne, the former before without the losse of any, save onely some few of those Indians (pretending our hurt) at what time Sir Thomas Dale, being himselfe upon that service, and duely considering how commodious a habitation and seate it might be for us, tooke resolution to possesse and plant it, and at that very instant, gave it the name of the new Bermudas, whereunto he hath laid out, and annexed to bee belonging to the Freedome, and Corporation for ever, many miles of Champion, and Wood-land, in severall Hundreds, as the upper and nether Hundreds, Roch-dale Hundred, Wests Sherly Hundred, and Digges his Hundred.

Bermuda a city.

Hundreds set out and distinguished.

Captaine Argalls Northward discoveries towardes Sacadehoc, and beyond to Port Royall, Sancta Crux, and thereabout may not bee concealed: In which his adventures, if he had brought home no commoditie to the Colony (which yet he did very much, both of apparell, victualls, and many other necessaries) the honour which he hath done unto our Nation, by displanting the French, there beginning to seat and fortifie

French displanted. Long discourses followed in the Author; but Virginia is brought to such an abridgement that I have no heart to follow him or others in that kind.

within our limits, and taking of their Ship & Pinnace, which he brought to James Towne, would have been reward enough for his paines, and will ever speake loud his honour, and approved valour.

Chap. XI.

A Letter of Sir Thomas Dale, and another of Master Whitakers, from James Towne in Virginia, June 18. 1614. And a piece of a Tractate, written by the said Master Whitakers from Virginia the yeere before.

To the R. and my most esteemed friend, M. D. M. at his house at F. Ch. in London.

RIght Reverend Sir, by Sir Thomas Gates I wrote unto you, of such occasions as then presented themselves, and now againe by this worthy Gentleman Captaine Argall I salute you: for such is the reverend regard I have of you, as I cannot omit any occasion to expresse the sincere affection I beare you. You have ever given mee encouragements to persevere in this Religious Warfare, untill your last Letters; not for that you are now lesse well affected thereunto: but because you see the Action to be in danger of their non-performances who undertooke the businesse. I have undertaken, and have as faithfully, and with all my might indeavoured the prosecution with all alacritie, as God that knoweth the heart can beare me record, what recompence, or what rewards, by whom, or when I know not where to expect; but from him in whose Vineward I labour, whose Church with greedy appetite I desire to erect. My glorious *Prince Henry.* Master is gone, that would have ennamelled with his favours the labors I undertake, for Gods cause, and his immortall honour. Hee was the Great Captaine of our Israel, the hope to have builded up this heavenly

new Jerusalem, he interred (I thinke) the whole frame of this businesse, fell into his grave: for most mens forward (at least seeming so) desires are quenched, and Virginia stands in desperate hazard. You there doe your duties, I will no way omit mine, the time I promised to labour, is expired: it is not a yoke of Oxen hath drawne mee from this feast: it is not the marriage of a wife makes me hast home, though that sallat give mee an appetite to cause me returne. But I have more care of the Stock, then to set upon a Dye, and rather put my selfe to the curtesie of noble and worthy censures, then ruine this Worke; and have a Jury (nay a million) of foule mouthed detracters, scan upon my endeavours, the ends whereof they cannot dive into. You shall briefly understand what hath betide since my last, and how we now stand, and are likely to grow to perfection, if wee be not altogether neglected, my stay grounded upon such reason, as had I now returned, it would have hazarded the ruine of all. [IV. ix. 1769.]

Sir T. Dales journy to Powhatans Country. This is more at large delivered, with the particular circumstances (which I for brevitie have omitted) by M. Hamor.

Sir Thomas Gates having imbarked himselfe for England, I put my selfe into Captaine Argalls ship, with a hundred and fiftie men in my frigot, and other boats went unto Pamaunkie River, where Powhatan hath his residence, and can in two or three dayes, draw a thousand men together; with me I carried his daughter, who had beene long prisoner with us, it was a day or two before wee heard of them: At length they demanded why wee came; I gave for answere, that I came to bring him his daughter, conditionally he would (as hath beene agreed upon for her ransome) render all the Armes, Tooles, Swords, and men that had run away, and to give me a ship full of Corne, for the wrong hee had done unto us: if they would doe this, wee would be friends, if not burne all. They demanded time to send to their King; I assented, I taking, they receiving two pledges, to carry my message to Powhatan. All night my two men lay not farre from the water side, about noone the next day they told them

the great King was three daies journey off, that Opochankano was hard by, to whom they would have had them deliver their message, saying, That what hee agreed upon and did, the great King would confirme. This Opocankano is brother to Powhatan, and is his and their chiefe Captaine: and one that can as soone (if not sooner) as Powhatan command the men. But my men refused to doe my message unto any save Powhatan, so they were brought backe, and I sent theirs to them; they told me that they would fetch Simons to me, who had thrice plaid the runnagate, whose lyes and villany much hindred our trade for Corne: But they delayed us, so as we went ashore they shot at us, we were not behinde hand with them, killed some, hurt others, marched into the Land, burnt their houses, tooke their Corne, and quartered all night ashoare.

The next day we went further up the River, they dogged us and called to know whither we went; wee answered, To burne all, if they would not doe as we demanded, and had beene agreed upon. They would they said, bring all the next day so we forbare all hostilitie, went ashoare, their men in good numbers comming amongst us, but we were very cautious, and stood to our Armes. The Kings daughter went ashoare, but would not talke to any of them, scarce to them of the best sort, and to them onely, that if her father had loved her, he would not value her lesse then old Swords, Peeces, or Axes: wherefore shee should still dwell with the English men, who loved her. At last came one from Powhatan, who told us, that Simons was run away, to Nonsowhaicond, which was a truth, as afterwards appeared, but that the other English man was dead, that proved a lie (for since M. Hamor, whom I employed to Powhatan brought him to mee) our Peeces, Swords, and Tooles within fifteene dayes, should be sent to James Towne, with some Corne, and that his daughter should be my child, and ever dwell with

Pocahuntas behaviour and report.

mee, desiring to be ever friends, and named such of his people, and neighbour Kings, as hee desired to be included, and have the benefit of the peace, promising if any of our men came to him, without leave from mee, he would send them backe: and that if any of his men stale from us, or killed our cattell, hee would send them to us to bee punished as wee thought fit. With these conditions wee returned, and within the time limitted, part of our Armes were sent, and twentie men with Corne, and promised more, which he hath also sent. Opachankano desired I would call him friend, and that he might call me so, saying, Hee was a great Captaine, and did alwayes fight: that I was also a great Captaine, and therefore he loved mee; and that my friends should bee his friends. So the bargaine was made, and every eight or ten dayes, I have messages and presents from him, with many appearances that he much desireth to continue friendship.

Opachankano now their king, & worker of the massacre.

Now may you judge Sir, if the God of Battailes had not a helping hand in this, that having our Swords drawne, killing their men, burning their houses, and taking their corne: yet they tendred us peace, and strive with all alacritie to keepe us in good opinion of them; by which many benefits arise unto us. First, part of our Armes, disgracefully lost long agoe (kept by the Savages as Monuments and Trophies of our shames) redelivered, some repaire to our Honor. Our catell to increase, without danger of destroying, our men at libertie to hunt freely for Venison, to fish, to doe any thing else, or goe any whither without danger; to follow the husbanding of our corne securely, whereof wee have above five hundred Acres set, and God be praised, in more forwardnesse then any of the Indians, that I have seene or heard of this yeeres, Roots and Hearbs we have abundance; all doubt of want is by Gods blessing quite vanished, and much plentie expected. And which is not the least materiall, wee may by this peace come to discover the Countrey better, both by

our owne travells, and by the relation of the Savages, as we grow in familiaritie with them.

Pocahuntas baptised: & of Matoa (so I have heard she was properly named) at first called Rebecca.

Powhatans daughter I caused to be carefully instructed in Christian Religion, who after she had made some good progresse therein, renounced publikely her Countrey Idolatry, openly confessed her Christian Faith, was, as shee desired, baptized, and is since married to an English Gentleman of good understanding (as by his Letter unto me, containing the reasons of his marriage of her you may perceive) another knot to binde this peace the stronger. Her Father and friends gave approbation to it, and her Uncle gave her to him in the Church: shee lives civilly and lovingly with him, and I trust will increase in goodnesse, as the knowledge of God increaseth in her. Shee will goe into England with mee, and were it but the gaining of this one soule, I will thinke my time, toile, and present stay well spent.

Since this accident, the Governours and people of Checkahomanies, who are five hundred Bow-men, and better, a stout and warlike Nation, have made meanes to have us come unto them, and conclude a peace, where all the Governours would meet me. They having thus three or foure times importuned me, I resolved to goe; so having Captaine Argall, with fiftie men in my Frigot and Barge I went thither: Captaine Argall with forty men landed, I kept aboord for some reasons. Upon the meeting they told Captaine Argall they had longed to be friends, that they had no King, but eight great men, who governed them. He told them that we came to be friends, asked them if they would have King James to be their King, and whether they would be his men? They after some conference betweene themselves, seemed willing of both, demanding if we would fight against their enemies; he told them that if any did them injury, they should send me word, and I would agree them, or if their adversaries would not, then I would let them have as many men as they would to helpe them: they liked well of that, and told him that

[IV. ix. 1770.]

all their men should helpe us. All this being agreed upon, Captaine Argall gave every Counsellour a Tamahawk, and a peece of Copper, which was kindely taken: they requested further, that if their Boates should happen to meete with our Boates, and that they said they were the Chikahominy Englishmen, and King James his men, wee would let them passe: we agreed unto it, so that they pronounced themselves Englishmen, and King James his men, promising within fifteene dayes to come unto James Towne to see me, and conclude these conditions; every Bowman being to give me as a Tribute to King James two measures of Corne every harvest, the two measures containing two bushels and a halfe, and I to give every Bowman a small Tamahawke, and to every Counseller a suit of red cloath, which did much please them. This people never acknowledged any King before, no nor ever would acknowledge Powhatan for their King; a stout people they be, and a delicate seate they have.

They called the English Tossantessas, and so would themselves be called. The particulars and articles of agreement are in M. Hamors Booke; here omitted.

Now Sir you see our conditions, you, and all worthy men may judge, whether it would not be a griefe to see these faire hopes frostbitten, and these fresh budding plants to wither? which had I returned, had assuredly followed: for here is no one that the people would have governe them, but my selfe: for I had now come away, had I not found a generall desire in the best sort to returne for England: Letter upon Letter, request upon request from their friends to returne, so as I knew not upon whom to conferre the care of this businesse in my absence: whom I thought fit was generally distasted, so as seeing the eminent ensuing danger, should I have left this multitude, not yet fully refined, I am resolved to stay till harvest be got in, and then settle things according to my poore understanding, and returne: if in the interim there come no authorised Governour from England.

Sir T. Dales report of Virginia. In another letter to the Committees he writeth that foure of the best Kingdoms of Christendome put all together, may no way compare with this country, either for commodities, or goodnesse of soile.

Consider I pray you, since things be brought to this passe, as you see, and that I should have come away, if then through their factions, humors, mutinies, or

indiscretion of the Chiefes I had left behinde, this should fall to ruine: I then should receive the imputation, and incurre the blame, for quitting the Plantation, although I might doe it, both with my honour, my promised stay of time being expired, and having warrant from my Soveraigne, the Kings Majesty: but the precedent reasons moved mee and that this action of such price, such excellency and assured profit to mine owne knowledge should not dye to the scorne of our Nation, and to give cause of laughter to the Papists, that desire our ruine. I can assure you, no Country of the world affords more assured hopes of infinite riches, which both by mine owne peoples discovery, and the relation of such Savages, whose fidelity we have often found, assureth me. Oh why should so many Princes and Noblemen ingage themselves, and thereby intermedling herein, have caused a number of soules transport themselves, and be transported hither? Why should they (I say) relinquish this so glorious an Action: for if their ends be to build God a Church, they ought to persevere: if otherwise, yet their honour ingageth them to be constant. Howsoever they stand affected, here is enough to content them, let their ends be either for God, or Mammon.

These things having animated me to stay for a little season, to leave those I am tied in conscience to returne unto, to leave the assured benefits of my other fortunes, the sweete society of my friends and acquaintance, with all mundall delights, and reside here with much turmoile, which I will constantly doe, rather then see Gods glory diminished, my King and Countrey dishonored, and these poore people, I have the charge of, ruined. And so I beseech you to answer for me, if you heare me taxed for my staying, as some may justly doe, and that these are my chiefe motives God I take to witnesse. Remember me, and the cause I have in hand, in your daily meditations, and reckon me in the number of those that doe sincerely love you and yours, and will ever rest in all offices of a friend, to doe you service.

To my very deere and loving Cosen M. G. Minister of the B. F. in London.

Master Alexander Whitaker was son to that worthy of Polemicall Divine Doctor Whitaker Master of S. Johns Col. in Cambridge.

SIr, the Colony here is much better. Sir Thomas Dale, our Religious and valiant Governour, hath now brought that to passe, which never before could be effected. For by warre upon our enemies, and kinde usage of our friends, he hath brought them to seeke for peace of us, which is made, and they dare not breake. But that which is best, one Pocahuntas or Matoa the daughter of Powhatan, is married to an honest and discreete English Gentleman Master Rolfe, and that after she had openly renounced her Country Idolatry, professed the faith of Jesus Christ, and was baptised; which thing Sir Thomas Dale had laboured a long time to ground in her.

What shadowes of men are the most in this age, that the best deserving should neede apologies instead of panegyrikes? They which for doing suffer ill, cry whore first, and by depraving justice seek to be just.

Yet notwithstanding, are the vertuous deedes of this worthy Knight, much debased, by the Letters which some wicked men have written from hence, and especially by one C. L. If you heare any condemne this noble Knight, or doe feare to come hither, for those slanderous Letters, you may upon my word boldly reprove them. You know that no malefactors can abide the face of the Judge, but themselves scorning to be reproved, doe prosecute with all hatred, all those that labour their amendment. I marvaile much that any men of honest life, should feare the Sword of the Magistrate, which is unsheathed onely in their defence. [IV. ix. 1771.]

But I much more muse, that so few of our English Ministers that were so hot against the Surplis and subscription: come hither where neither spoken of. Doe they not either wilfully hide their Tallents, or keepe themselves at home for feare of loosing a few pleasures? Be there not any amongst them of Moses his minde, and of the Apostles, that forsooke all to follow Christ? But I referre them to the Judge of all hearts, and to the King that shall reward every one according to the gaine of his Talent. But you my cosen, hold fast that

which you have, and I, though my promise of thre yeeres service to my Countrey be expired, will abide in my vocation here untill I be lawfully called from hence. And so betaking us all unto the mercies of God in Christ Jesus, I rest for ever.

Part of a Tractate written at Henrico in Virginia, by Master Alex. Whitaker, Minister to the Colony there, which then governed by Sir T. Dale, 1613.

THey acknowledge that there is a great good God, but know him not, having the eyes of their understanding as yet blinded: wherefore they serve the Divell for feare, after a most base manner, sacrificing sometimes (as I have here heard) their owne Children to him. I have sent one Image of their god to the Counsell in England, which is painted upon one side of a toad-stoole, much like unto a deformed monster.

Their Priests and manner of living.

Their Priests (whom they call Quiokosoughs) are no other but such as our English Witches are. They live naked in body, as if their shame of their sinne deserved no covering: Their names are as naked as their body: they esteeme it a vertue to lye, deceive, and steale, as their Master the Divell teacheth them. Much more might be said of their miserable condition, but I referre the particular narration of these things to some other season.

These men are not so simple as some have supposed them: for they are of body lusty, strong, and very nimble: they are a very understanding generation, quicke of apprehension, suddaine in their dispatches, subtile in their dealings, exquisite in their inventions, and industrious in their labour. I suppose the world hath no better marke-men with their Bowes and Arrowes then they be; they will kill Birds flying, Fishes swimming, and Beasts running: they shoote also with mervailous strength, they shot one of our men being unharmed

quite through the body, and nailed both his armes to his body with one Arrow: one of their Children also, about the age of twelve or thirteene yeeres, killed a Bird with his Arrow in my sight. The service of their God is answerable to their life, being performed with a great feare and attention, and many strange dumbe shewes used in the same, stretching forth their limbes, and straining their body, much like to the counterfeit women in England, who faine themselves bewitched, or possessed of some evill spirit.

They stand in great awe of the Quiokosoughs or Priests, which are a generation of Vipers, even of Sathans owne brood. The manner of their life is much like to the Popish Hermits of our age; for they live alone in the woods, in houses sequestred from the common course of men, neither may any man be suffered to come into their house or to speake with them, but when this Priest doth call him. He taketh no care for his victuals, for all such kinde of things both Bread and Water, &c. are brought unto a place neere unto his cottage, and there are left, which hee fetcheth for his proper neede. If they would have raine, or have lost any thing, they have their recourse to him, who conjureth for them, and many times prevaileth. If they be sicke, he is their Physician; if they be wounded, he sucketh them. At his command they make warre and peace, neither doe they any thing of moment without him. I will not be tedious in these strange Narrations, when I have more perfectly entered into their secrets, you shall know all. Finally, there is a civill government amongst them which they strictly observe, and shew thereby that the law of Nature dwelleth in them: for they have a rude kinde of Common-wealth, and rough government wherein they both honour and obey their Kings, Parents, and Governours, both greater and lesse, they observe the limits of their owne possessions. Murther is scarsly heard of: Adultery and other offences severely punished.

Yet Namantack in his returne was killed in Bermuda by another Savage his fellow.

The whole Continent of Virginia situate within the degrees of 34. and 47. is a place beautified by God, with all the ornaments of nature, and enriched with his earthly treasures: that part of it, which we already possesse, beginning at the Bay of Chæsapheac, and stretching it selfe in Northerly latitude to the degrees of 39. and 40. is interlined with seven most goodly Rivers, the least whereof is equall to our River of Thames: and all these Rivers are so neerely joyned, as that there is not very much distance of dry ground betweene either of them, and those severall maine lands are every where watered with many veines or creekes of water, which sundry waies doe overthwart the land, and make it almost navigable from one River to the other. The commodity whereof to those that shall inhabite this land is infinite, in respect of the speedy and easie transportance of goods from one River to the other, I cannot better manifest it unto you, but in advising you to consider whether the water or land hath beene more beneficiall to the Low-Countries. To the River which we inhabit (commonly called Powhatans River) ebbeth and floweth one hundred and forty miles into the maine; at the mouth whereof are the two Forts of Henrico and Charles: two and forty miles upward is the first and Mother-Christian Towne seated, called James-Towne; and seventy miles beyond that upward, is the new Towne of Henrico built, and so named in the memory of Noble Prince Henry of lasting and blessed memory: tenne miles beyond this is a place called the Fals, because the River hath there a great descent falling downe between many minerall Rockes which be there: twelve miles farther beyond this place is there a Christall Rocke wherewith the Indians doe head many of their Arrowes: three dayes journey from thence is there a Rock or stony hill found, which is in the top covered all over with a perfect and most rich Silver oare. Our men that went to discover those parts had but two Iron Pickaxes with them, and those so ill

As 14. *or* 16. *miles.*

[IV. ix. 1772.]

Christall Rock.

tempered, that the points of them turned againe, and bowed at every stroake, so that we could not search the entrailes of the place, yet some triall was made of that oare with good successe, and argument of much hope. Six dayes journey beyond this Mine a great ridge of high hils doe runne along the maine land, not farre from whom the Indians report a great Sea doth runne, which we commonly call a South Sea, but in respect of our habitation is a West Sea, for there the Sun setteth from us. The higher ground is much like unto the molde of France, clay and sand being proportionably mixed together at the top; but if we digge any depth (as we have done for our Bricks) we finde it to be red clay, full of glistering spangles. There be many rockie places in all quarters; & more then probable likelihoods of rich Mines of all sorts: though I knew all, yet it were not convenient at this time that I should utter all, neither have wee had meanes to search for any thing as we ought, thorough present want of men, and former wants of provision for the belly. As for Iron, Steele, Antimonium, and Terrasigillata, they have rather offered themselves to our eyes and hands, then bin sought for of us. The Ayre of the Countrey (especially about Henrico and upward) is very temperate and agreeth well with our bodies. The extremity of Summer is not so hot as Spaine, nor the cold of Winter so sharpe as the frosts of England. The Spring and Harvest are the two longest seasons and most pleasant, the Summer and Winter are both but short. The Winter is for the most part dry and faire, but the Summer watered often with many great and sodaine showers of raine; whereby the cold of Winter is warmed, and the heate of Summer cooled. Many have died with us heretofore thorough their owne filthinesse and want of bodily comforts for sicke men; but now very few are sicke among us: not above three persons amongst all the inhabitants of Henrico; I would to God our soules were no sicker then our bodies.

Ayre and Seasons.

The naturall people of the Land are generally such as you heard of before. A people to be feared of those that come upon them without defensive Armor, but otherwise faint-hearted (if they see their Arrowes cannot pierce) and easie to be subdued. Shirts of Male, or quilted cotten coates are the best defence against them. There is but one or two of their petty Kings, that for feare of us have desired our friendship; and those keepe good quarter with us, being very pleasant amongst us, and (if occasion be) serviceable unto us. Our eldest friends be Pipisco and Choapoke, who are our overthwart neighbours at James-Towne, and have beene friendly to us in our great want. The other is the Werowance of Chescheak, who but lately traded with us peaceably. If we were once the masters of their Country, and they stood in feare of us (which might with few hands imployed about nothing else, be in short time brought to passe) it were an easie matter to make them willingly to forsake the Divell, to embrace the faith of Jesus Christ, and to be baptized. Besides, you cannot easily judge how much they would be availeable to us in our Discoveries of the Countrey, in our Buildings and Plantings, and quiet provision for our selves, when we may peaceably passe from place to place without neede of Armes or Guard.

Note well.

Feare is the beginning of piety & civility.

What use may be made of the Natives.

The meanes for our people to live and subsist here of themselves are many and most certaine both for Beasts, Birds, and Hearbes. The Beasts of the Countrey are for the most part wilde: as Lyons, Beares, Wolves and Deere: Foxes blacke and red, Rakowns, Bevers, Possowns, Squerrels, Wilde-Cats, whose skins are of great price, and Muske-Rats which yeelde Muske as the Muske-Cats doe. There be two kindes of Beasts amongst these most strange; one of them is the female Possowne, which will let forth her yong out of her belly, and take them up into her belly againe at her pleasure without hurt to her selfe; neither thinke this to be a Travellers tale, but the very truth; for nature

Possown a strange beast.

hath framed her fit for that service, my eyes have beene witnesse unto it, and we have sent of them and their yong ones into England. The other strange conditioned creature is the flying Squirrell, which thorough the helpe of certaine broad flaps of skin growing on each side of her forelegs, will flye from tree to tree twenty or thirty paces at one flight and more, if she have the benefit of a small breath of winde. Besides these, since our comming hither, we have brought both Kine, Goates, and Hogges, which prosper well, and would multiply exceedingly, if they might be provided for. This Countrey besides is replenished with Birds of all sorts, which have bin the best sustenance of flesh, which our men have had since they came; also Eagels and Haukes of all sorts, amongst whom are Auspreys, fishing Hauke, and the Cormorant. The woods be every where full of wilde Turkies, which abound, and will runne as swift as a Greyhound. In winter our fields be full of Cranes, Herons, Pigeons, Partridges and Blackbirds: the Rivers and creekes be over-spread every where with water foule of the greatest and least sort, as Swans, flockes of Geese and Brants, Ducke and Mallard, Sheldrakes, Dyvers, &c. besides many other kindes of rare and delectable Birds, whose names and natures I cannot yet recite, but we want the meanes to take them. The Rivers abound with Fish both small and great; the Sea-fish come into our Rivers in March, & continue untill the end of September: great sculls of Herings come in first: Shads of a great bignesse, and Rock-fish follow them. Trouts, Base, Flounders, and other dainty fish come in before the other be gone: then come multitudes of great Sturgeons, whereof we catch many, and should do more, but that we want good Nets answerable to the breadth and deapth of our Rivers: besides, our channels are so foule in the bottome with great logges and trees, that we often breake our Nets upon them: I cannot reckon nor give proper names to the divers kindes of fresh fish in our Rivers; I have caught with mine Angle, Pike, Karpe, Eele, Perches

Flying Squirrels.

[IV. ix. 1773.]

Fowle.

Fish.

Nets.

of six severall kindes, Crea-fish, and the Torope or little Turtle, besides many smaller kindes, &c.

Chap. XII.

Of the Lottery: Sir Thomas Dales returne: the Spaniards in Virginia. Of Pocahantas and Tomocomo: Captaine Yerdley and Captaine Argoll (both since Knighted) their Government; the Lord La-Warrs death, and other occurrents till Anno 1619.

HItherto you have heard the Authors themselves speak of their owne affaires. Now we must for continuation and consummation of our Story, borrow a few Collections from others, where the Authors themselves have not comne to our hands. Wherein that industrious Gentleman Captaine John Smith still breathing Virginia, and diligent enquiry and writing, as sometime by discovery and doing to shew his zeale to this action (for seeing he cannot there be employed to performe Virginian exploits worthy the writing, here he employeth himselfe to write Virginian affaires worthy the reading) having compiled a long History of that and the Summer Iland plantation, and of New England in six Bookes, hath gently communicated the same to mine, that is to thine, as intended to the Worlds use. Out of his rich fields I have gleaned these handfuls, adding thereto the crop also of mine owne industry.

Sir Thomas Gates returned from Virginia in March, and Captaine Argall in June following 1614. and so animated by their hopefull reports the Adventurers, that *The Lottery.* the great standing Lottery was drawne Anno 1615. in the West end of Pauls Churchyard (where before, as in many other places after, a running Lottery of smaller adventures had beene used) in which the Prizes were proportioned

from two crownes (which was the least) to divers thousands, arising in ordinary assents and degrees*, casually accruing as the lot fell, and paid in money or in Plate there set forth to view, provided that if any chose money rather then Plate or goods for paiment, in summes above ten crownes, he was to abate the tenth part. The orders of this Lottery were published, and courses taken to prevent frauds.

*To 100. 200. 300. & 1000. 2000. and the highest 4500. crownes.

Whiles Sir Thomas Dale was in Virginia, it chanced that a Spanish Ship beate up and downe before Point Comfort, and sent ashoare for a Pilot. Captaine James Davies sent them one, with whom they presently sailed away, leaving three of their company behinde. These, upon examination, confessed that having lost their Admirall, accident had forced them into those parts; two of them said they were Captaines of chiefe command in the Fleete. They received good usage there, till one of them was found to be an Englishman, which in the great Fleete 1588. had bin a Pilot to the Spaniards, and now exercised his wonted trechery, having induced some malecontents to runne away with a small Barke. This darknesse being brought to light, some of them were executed, and he expecting no better, confessed that two or three Spanish Ships were at Sea, on purpose to discover the state of the Colony: but their Commission was not to be opened till they arrived in the Bay, so that he knew no further. One of the Spaniards died, the other was sent for England, and this fellow was now reprived, but (as became such a Pilot) was hanged at Sea in Sir Thomas Dales returne. The English Pilot which they had carried away to Spaine, after long imprisonment by much suite recovered his liberty and Country.

Spanish Ships at Virginia.

English Pilate or Judas rather; suspended and exalted together according to his merit.

Sir Thomas Dale having thus established things as you have heard, returned thence, appointing Captaine George Yardly his deputy Governour in his absence, and arrived at Plimmouth in May or June 4. 1616. to advance the good of the Plantation, Master Rolfe also with Rebecca his new convert and consort, and Uttamatamakin

Cap. Yardly Deputy Governour.

[IV. ix. 1774.] (commonly called Tomocomo) one of Pohatans Counsellours came over at the same time. With this Savage I have often conversed at my good friends Master Doctor Goldstone, where he was a frequent guest; and where I have both seen him sing and dance his diabolicall measures, and heard him discourse of his Countrey and Religion, Sir Tho. Dales man being the Interpretour, as I have elsewhere shewed. Master Rolfe lent mee a discourse which he had written of the estate of Virginia at that time, out of which I collected those things which I have in my Pilgrimage delivered. And his wife did not onely accustome her selfe to civilitie, but still carried her selfe as the Daughter of a King, and was accordingly respected, not onely by the Company, which allowed provision for her selfe and her sonne, but of divers particular persons of Honor, in their hopefull zeale by her to advance Christianitie. I was present, when my Honorable & Reverend Patron, the L. Bishop of London, Doctor King entertained her with festivall state and pompe, beyond what I have seene in his great hospitalitie afforded to other Ladies. At her returne towards Virginia she came at Gravesend to her end and grave, having given great demonstration of her Christian sinceritie, as the first fruits of Virginian conversion, leaving here a godly memory, and the hopes of her resurrection, her soule aspiring to see and enjoy presently in heaven, what here shee had joyed to heare and beleeve of her beloved Saviour. Not such was Tomocomo, but a blasphemer of what he knew not, and preferring his God to ours, because he taught them (by his owne so appearing) to weare their Devill-lock at the left eare; hee acquainted mee with the manner of that his appearance, and beleeved that this Okee or Devil had taught them their husbandry, &c. Powhatan was at this time of their comming gone Southwards, for feare (as some thought) least Opachancanough his brother should joyne with the English against him. His age was not so great as some have reported, they reckoning

Hitherto from Capt. Smith.

See my Pil. l. 8. c. 5.

See my Pilg. ubi sup. Powhatans remove.

Virginian yeers which perhaps occasioned the conceits of their longevity.

every Spring and Autumne for distinct yeeres. Tomocomo was as wise in computation of his sailing, reckoning each night (when hee expected they should have anchored by the shoare) as another day. Hee is said also to have set up with notches on a stick the numbers of men, being sent to see and signifie the truth of the multitudes reported to his Master. But his arithmetike soone failed, and wonder did no lesse amaze him at the sight of so much Corne and Trees in his comming from Plimmouth to London, the Virginians imagining that defect thereof here had brought us thither.

But let us returne to Captaine Smiths Relations. The new Governour applied himselfe to the readiest way of gaine in planting Tobacco; and though Sir Tho. Dale had caused much Corne to be planted, yet the new supplies easing them of that superfluitie, hee sent to the Chickahaminies for the tribute Corne which Sir Thomas Dale and Captaine Argall had conditioned with them, but received a bad answere. Whereupon hee gathered a hundred men, and twelve of them were slaine, twelve others captived, and returned to James Towne with three Boats laden with corne, of which one hasting to bring the newes was overset, and eleven men, together with the goods drowned. Captaine Spelman by his language did them good service. This, together with the league which they had with Opachankanough enemy to the former, put them so in feare, that ours followed their labours quietly, and other Nations also brought them provisions and would hunt for them. Captaine Yeardly is taxed for suffering two of his Savages to use the Peece in their game and therein to grow expert; a thing reported to have beene practised by some others. Yet whiles hee staied in the government they lived quietly with the Savages, but grudges grew amongst themselves.

A. 1617. Captaine Yeardly returned for England, after the arrivall of Captaine Argall, sent thither to be deputie Governour. *A. 1617. Cap. Argolls government.*

Captaine Argall was sent in the George, and with Capt.

Hamor his Vice-Admirall, in May, 1617. arrived at James Towne, where hee found things in much disorder, which hee sought to redresse. Their cattell were now well encreased, and both of their owne growing, and from the Savages they had store of Corne, A. 1618. happened a great drought, and such a cruell storme of haile, that it did much hurt to their Corne and Tobacco. The Magazine that came in the George, being five moneths in her passage proved badly conditioned.

1618.

Great drought.

To supply them, the Company furnished and set forth in Aprill a Ship of two hundred and fiftie tunnes, with two hundred people. The Lord De-la-war went therein, and at the Iland of Saint Michael was honourably feasted. Departing from thence, they were long troubled with contrary windes, in which time many fell sicke, thirtie died, one of which was that honourable Lord of noble memory. The rest refreshed themselves on that Coast of New England, with Fish, Fowle, Wood, and Water, and after sixteene weekes spent at Sea, arrived in Virginia.

L. De-la-Wars last voyages and death.

The Ship called the Treasurer not long after came thither with fortie Passengers, before the other Ship was gone. They now had used the Plow, and reaped good Corne, and they writ for more Plow-harnesse to be sent them.

Plowing and Corne in Virginia.

Richard Killingbeck with foure others, going to trade secretly with the people of Chickahaminias, either for revenge of some before slaine in Captaine Yerdlyes expedition, or for covetousnesse of their goods were assaulted by the Savages, one of which had a Peece furnished and therewith shot Killingbeck dead; the rest also were all slaine, stripped, and spoyled. Other murthers also were done by other Savages, which Opachankanough excused by ignorance, and for the former, hee sent a basket of earth, in token of the gift and possession of that Towne where they dwelt, to Captaine Argal, desiring him not to revenge the fault of a few, which for feare of revenge were fled to the

Killingbeck slain.

Woods, on their innocent neighbours. Sam. Arg. Jo. Rolfe.

Master Rolfe writ, June 15. 1618. that Powhatan died in Aprill before, Itopatan his second brother succeeded, who with Opachanckanough had confirmed the league with the Colony. May 11. happened at James Towne in the night, a terrible storme which lasted about halfe an houre, and poured downe haile-stones eight or nine inches about. *Powhatans death.*

A. 1619. Sir Edwin Sands being chosen Treasurer, Captaine Yerdley was knighted and sent Governour into Virginia. A little Pinnace had arrived some twelve dayes before him, in which Captaine Argall returned, leaving in his place Captaine Nathaniel Powel. As for their digusts given the Company (in their apprehension) by Captaine Argall, I am not fully informed, or lust to bee the Informer. *Sir Edwin Sands Treasurer.*

Sir George Yerdly arriving Aprill 18. filled the Colony with joyfull hopes of better successe at his arrivall, and I freely acknowledge the Treasurers great study and care was worthy (had God so pleased) of better events, then by unexpected accidents have since happened. *Sir George Yerdley Governour.*

Captaine West, Captaine Powel, Master Pory, Master Rolfe, Master Wickam, Master Macock, were added to the Councell. A Pinnace of Captaine Bargrave, another of Captaine Lawnes, and a third of Master Evans, and the Marget of Bristol arrived. Some scandalous Letters, which laid a false imputation on the Countrey, caused enquiry to bee made, where by men of best experience was found, that an industrious man not otherwise imployed, may well husband foure Acres of Corne, and one thousand Plants of Tobacco, of which many to have much, neglect the goodnesse (in suffering too many leaves to grow on one stalke) and many Tobaccomongers in England are said to sell the best of it in other names, calling all their trash Virginian, and so at once rob both England and Virginia. June *Profit to be made in Virginia.*

25. the Triall came in with Corne and Cattell. The Governour and Counsell caused Burgesses to be chosen in all places, and a generall assembly was held for consultation about the Colonies good. The ancient Planters being set free chose places to their content, and sweetnesse of proprietie made them emulous to exceed each other in building and planting. Many good instructions were sent from the Company, to amend the Virginian abuses and competencie of provision was appointed for Officers.

But leave we awhile our Captaines Notes, and let us listen to that which the Company published, A. 1620.

Chap. XIII.

The estate of the Colony, A. 1620. and Master Dermers Letter to mee from Virginia, touching his Voyage for the South Sea.

NOw touching the present estate of our Colony in that Countrey, We have thought it not unfit thus much briefly to declare. There have beene sent thither this last yeere, and are now presently in going, twelve hundred persons and upward, as particularly appeareth in the note above specified: and there are neere one thousand more remaining of those that were gone before. The men lately sent, have beene most of them choice men, borne and bred up to labour and industry. Out of Devonshire, about an hundred men, brought up to Husbandry. Out of Warwickshire and Staffordshire, about one hundred and ten; and out of Sussex, about fortie; all framed to Iron-workes: the rest dispersedly out of divers Shires of the Realme. There have beene also sundry persons of good qualitie, much commended for sufficiency, industry and honestie, provided and sent to take charge and government of those people.

The care likewise that hath beene taken by directions, instructions, Charters and Commissions to reduce the people and affaires in Virginia into a regular course, hath been such and so great, that the Colony beginneth now to have the face and fashion of an orderly State, and such as is likely to grow and prosper. The people are all divided into severall Burroughes; each man having the shares of Land due to him set out, to hold and enjoy to him and his Heires. The publike Lands for the Company here, for the Governour there, for the Colledge, and for each particular Burrough, for the Ministers also, and for divers other necessary Officers, are likewise laid out by order and bounded. The particular Plantations for divers private Societies, are setled in their Seates, being allotted to their content, and each in convenient distance. The rigour of Martiall Law, wherewith before they were governed, is reduced within the limits prescribed by his Majesty; and the laudable forme of Justice and government used in this Realme, established, and followed as neere as may be. The Governour is so restrained to a Counsell joyned with him, that he can doe wrong to no man, who may not have speedy remedy. Each Burrough, and each particular Plantation, partly hath, partly is bound to have in short time a sufficient Minister: for whom maintenance is ordained, to each of two hundred pounds a yeere value. Which orderly proceeding there, by direction from hence, hath caused the Colony now at length to settle themselves in a firme resolution to perpetuate the Plantation. They fall to building of Houses, each for his owne private; and the Generality to the rearing of publike Guesthouses, for entertaining of new men upon their first arrivall. They fall to set up their Ploughes, to the planting of Vineyards; to the pursuing of the Staple Commodities furnished and commended from hence. In summe, they are now so full of alacrity and cheerefulnesse, that in a late generall Assembly, they have in the name of the Colony presented their greatest possible

Severall. Burroughs.

[IV. ix. 1776.]

thankes to the Company, for the care that hath beene taken for the setling of the Plantation. Neither is it to be omitted, the care which hath beene had here lately at home, for the reducing of all the proceedings and affaires of the Company, to an orderly course of good government and Justice. Wherein to begin with the Fountaine thereof, his Majesties authoritie and pleasure, there hath beene a collection made of all the branches of the same, dispersed in his Letters Patents, now three times renewed: as also out of other instructions proceeding from his Majestie. Out of both which, together with such other Orders as (authorized by his Majestie) the Companie themselves have thought necessary to make, hath beene compiled a booke of standing Orders and Constitutions, approved by the generall consent of all the Companie: whereby both the Company here, and the Colony in Virginia, have their businesse carried regularly, industriously, and justly, every man knowing both his right and dutie, to their generall great content, and the great advancement of the Action. And whereas the Colony likewise have been often Sutors in effect, to reduce into a compendious and orderly forme of writing, the Lawes of England proper for the use of that Plantation, with addition of such other, as the nature of the place, the novelty of the Colony, and other important circumstances should necessarily require: A course is likewise taken for the effecting of this worke; yet so as to submit it first to his Majesties view and approbation; it being not fit that his Majesties Subjects should bee governed by any other Lawes, then such as receive the influence of their life from him.

Patent three times renewed.

And now to come to that which concerneth the Adventurors in particular, by whose charges, care, and labour (next unto his Majesties especiall grace) this famous Plantation hath not onely beene undertaken, but through so many difficulties upheld and continued: wee should bee very greatly injurious to them, if we should not acquaint them with this seasonable time, for the

reaping of that benefit and reward which is due unto them. Wee therefore let them know, that in this last yeere now ended, there have beene granted by the Company under their legall Seale, eleven severall Patents for particular Plantations; and more are in hand to bee passed this next Quarter-Court. It is not unprobable that upon each of these Patents, divers hundreds of persons will soone Plant in Virginia: there have beene already transported upon the first, above three hundred men. These and other like Planters, having priority of time, will have priority also in choice of the Seat of their Plantations. Seeing therefore the onely matter of retribution to the Adventurors, is by a faire proportion of Land to them and their heires, namely, of one hundred Acres for every share of twelve pounds and ten shillings, upon a first division; and as much more upon a second, the first being peopled; with fiftie Acres for every person (to bee doubled in like manner) which at their own charges they shall transport to inhabite in Virginia before the foure and twentieth of June, 1625. if hee continue there three yeeres, either at one or severall times, or die after he is shipped for that voyage: It standeth them upon, who are not willing to be the least in the benefit to be partaked, not to be the last in setting forth to the choice and peopling of their Land. Wherein what favour or assistance may by us bee given them, they shall bee well assured of it, in equall proportion with our selves, as their charges and long expectance have well deserved. And to the end that not onely the Adventurors now living, but the Heires also of the deceased, may take certaine notice of the severall proportion of Land, which ratably to their Adventures in money are due and belonging to them.

A Note of the Shipping, Men, and Provisions sent to Virginia, by the Treasurer and Company, in the yeere 1619.

Ships. THe Bona Nova of two hundred Tun, sent in August 1619. with one hundred and twenty persons. The Duty, of seventy Tun, sent in January 1619. with fiftie one persons. The Jonathan of three hundred and fiftie Tun, sent in February 1619. with two hundred persons. The Triall, of two hundred Tun, sent in February 1619. with fortie persons, and sixtie Kine. The Faulcon, of one hundred and fiftie Tun, sent in February 1619. with thirtie sixe persons, fiftie two Kine, and foure Mares. The London Merchant, of three hundred Tun, sent in March 1619. with two hundred persons. The Swan of Barnstable, of one hundred Tunne, sent in March, 1619. with seventie one persons. The Bonaventure of two hundred and fortie Tun, sent in April, 1620. with one hundred and fiftie three persons. Besides these, set out by the Treasurer and Company, there hath beene set out by particular Adventures for private Plantations. The Garland of two hundred and fiftie Tun, sent in June, 1619. for M. John Ferrars Plantation, with fortie five persons. Who are yet detained in the Summer Ilands. A Ship of Bristoll, of eightie Tun, sent in September, 1619. for M. Barkleys Plantation, with fortie five persons. There are also two Ships in providing to be shortly gone, for about three hundred persons more, to bee sent by private Adventurers to Virginia. The summe of the persons one thousand two hundred sixtie one. Whereof in the eight Ships set out by the Treasurer and Company, eight hundred seventie one.

[IV. ix. 1777.]

People. Of these persons there are sent for publike and other pious uses, these ensuing: Tenants for the Governours Land, besides fiftie sent the former Spring, eightie. Tenants for the Companies Land, one hundred and thirtie. Tenants for the Colledges Land, one hundred.

Tenants for the Ministers glebe-Lands, fiftie. Young Maids to make Wives for so many of the former Tenants, ninetie. Boyes to make Apprentices for those Tenants, one hundred. Servants for the publike, fiftie. Men sent by their labours, to beare up the charge of bringing up thirtie of the Infidels children in true Religion and Civilitie. The sum of persons for publike use, &c. six hundred and fiftie. The six hundred and eleven remaining, are sent for private Plantations.

Commodities. The Commodities which these people are directed principally to apply (next to their own necessary maintenance) are these ensuing: Iron, for which are sent one hundred and fiftie persons, to set up three Iron-workes; proofe having beene made of the extraordinary goodnesse of that Iron.

Cordage: for which (besides Hempe) direction is given for the planting of Silke-grasse (naturally growing in those parts) in great abundance: which is approved to make the best Cordage and Linnen in the world. Of this, every housholder is bound to set one hundred Plants: and the Governour himselfe hath set five thousand.

Pot-ashes and Sope-ashes, Pitch and Tarre: for the making whereof the Polacres are returned to their workes.

Timber of all sorts, with Masts, Planks and Boords for provision of Shipping, &c. there being not so good Timber for all uses, in any one knowne Countrey whatsoever. And for the ease and encrease of divers of these workes, provision is sent of men and materialls, for the setting up of sundry Sawing Mills.

Silke: for which that Countrey is exceeding proper, having innumerable store of Mulbery Trees of the best, and some Silk-wormes naturally found upon them, producing excellent Silke: some whereof is to be seene. For the setting up of which Commoditie, his Majesty hath beene graciously pleased now the second time (the former having miscarried) to bestow upon the Company plenty

of Silk-wormes-feed of his owne store, being the best.

Vines: whereof the Countrey yeeldeth naturally great store, and of sundry sorts: which by culture will be brought to excellent perfection. For the effecting whereof, divers skilfull Vignerons are sent, with store also from hence of Vine-plants of the best sort.

Salt: which workes having beene lately suffered to decay, are now ordered to bee set up in so great plentie, as not onely to serve the Colony for the present; but as is hoped in short time also the great Fishings on those Coasts.

For the following, working, and perfecting of these Commodities, all provisions necessary for the present are sent in good abundance. As likewise the people that goe are plentifully furnished with apparell, bedding, victuall for sixe moneths: Implements both for the House and Labour, Armour, Weapons, Tooles, and sundry other necessaries. And a supply of Armour, Powder, and many necessary provisions is made for those of the Colony which were there before; yet without any prejudice to the former Magazin.

Gifts. There have beene given to the Colony this yeere by devout persons, these Gifts ensuing: Two persons unknowne, have given faire Plate, and other rich Ornaments for two Communion Tables; whereof one for the Colledge, and the other for the Church of Mistresse Mary Robinsons founding: who in the former yeere by her Will, gave two hundred pounds towards the founding of a Church in Virginia.

Another unknowne person (together with a godly Letter) hath lately sent to the Treasurer, five hundred and fiftie pounds in gold, for the bringing up of children of the Infidels: first in the Knowledge of God and true Religion; and next, in fit Trades whereby honestly to live.

Master Nicolas Ferrar deceased, hath by his Will given three hundred pounds to the Colledge in Virginia, to bee

paid, when there shall be ten of the Infidels children placed in it. And in the meane time foure and twentie pounds by yeere, to bee distributed unto three discreet and godly men in the Colony, which shall honestly bring up three of the Infidels children in Christian Religion, and some good course to live by.

An unnamed person sent to the Treasurer the summe of ten pounds, for advancing of the Plantation.

There have beene Patents granted this yeere for particular Plantations, as here ensueth: To the Societie of Southamton Hundred. To Master Heath, Recorder of London. To Master Wincop. To Master Tracie. To Doctor Bohun. To Master Pierce. To Master Delbridge. To Master Pointz. To Master Barkley. To Captaine Bargrave. To Captaine Ward. Who have undertaken to transport to Virginia great multitudes of people, with store of cattell. *Patents.*

It is to be knowne, that touching the Colledge for the Infidels children, it hath beene thought more expedient to begin first with the planting and peopling of the Lands (which hath beene done this yeere) and afterwards to proceed to the erecting of the Fabricke, which is to be performed out of the revenues of the Lands. [IV. ix. 1778.]

To his Worshipfull Friend M. Samuel Purchas, Preacher of the Word, at the Church a little within Ludgate, London.

Sir,

IT was the nineteenth of May, before I was fitted for my discovery, when from Monahiggan I set sayle in an open Pinnace of five tun, for the Iland I told you of. I passed alongst the Coast where I found some antient Plantations, not long since populous now utterly void; in other places a remnant remaines, but not free of sicknesse. Their disease the Plague, for wee might perceive the sores of some that had escaped, who described the spots of such as usually die. When I arrived at my

Savages native Country (finding all dead) I travelled alongst a daies journey Westward, to a place called Nummastaquyt, where finding Inhabitants, I dispatched a Messenger a dayes journey further West, to Poconaokit which bordereth on the Sea; whence came to see me two Kings, attended with a guard of fiftie armed men, who being well satisfied with that my Savage and I discoursed unto them (being desirous of noveltie) gave mee content in whatsoever I demanded, where I found that former relations were true. Here I redeemed a Frenchman, and afterwards another at Mastachusit, who three yeeres since escaped shipwracke at the North-east of Cape Cod. I must (amongst many things worthy observation) for want of leisure, therefore hence I passe (not mentioning any place where we touched in the way) to the Iland, which wee discovered the twelfth of June. Here we had good quarter with the Savages, who likewise confirmed former reports. I found seven severall places digged, sent home of the earth, with samples of other commodities elsewhere found, sounded the Coast, and the time being farre spent bare up for Monahiggan, arriving the three and twentieth of June, where wee found our Ship ready to depart. To this Ile are two other neere adjoyning, all which I called by the name of King James his Iles, because from thence I had the first motives to search. For that (now probable passage) which may hereafter be both honourable and profitable to his Majestie. When I had dispatched with the ships ready to depart, I thus concluded for the accomplishing my businesse. In regard of the fewnesse of my men, not being able to leave behind mee a competent number for defence, and yet sufficiently furnish my selfe, I put most of my provisions aboord the Sampson of Cape Ward ready bound for Virginia, from whence hee came, taking no more into the Pinnace then I thought might serve our turnes, determining with Gods helpe to search the Coast along, and at Virginia to supply our selves for a second discovery, if the first failed. But as the best actions are

commonly hardest in effecting, and are seldome without their crosses, so in this we had our share, and met with many difficulties: for wee had not sayled above forty leagues, but wee were taken with a Southerly storme, which drave us to this strait; eyther we must weather a rockie point of Land, or run into a broad Bay no lesse dangerous; Incidit in Syllam, &c. the Rockes wee could not weather, though wee loosed till wee received much water, but at last were forced to beare up for the Bay, and run on ground a furlong off the shoare, where we had beene beaten to pieces, had wee not instantly throwne overboord our provisions to have our lives; by which meanes we escaped and brought off our Pinnace the next high water without hurt, having our Planke broken, and a small leake or two which we easily mended. Being left in this misery, having lost much bread, all our Beefe and Sider, some Meale and Apparell, with other provisions and necessaries; having now little left besides hope to encourage us to persist: Yet after a little deliberation we resolved to proceed and departed with the next faire winde. We had not now that faire quarter amongst the Savages as before, which I take it was by reason of our Savages absence, who desired (in regard of our long journey) to stay with some of our Savage friends at Sawahquatooke) for now almost every where, where they were of any strength they sought to betray us. At Manamock (the Southerne part of Cape Cod, now called Sutcliffe Inlets) I was unawares taken prisoner, when they sought to kill my men, which I left to man the Pinnace; but missing of their purpose, they demanded a ransome, which had, I was as farre from libertie as before: yet it pleased God at last, after a strange manner to deliver me, with three of them into my hands, and a little after the chiefe Sacheum himselfe; who seeing me weigh anchor, would have leaped overboord, but intercepted, craved pardon, and sent for the Hatchets given for ransome, excusing himselfe by laying the fault on his neighbours; and to be friends sent for a Canoas lading of

Corne, which received we set him free. I am loth to omit the story, wherein you would finde cause to admire the great mercy of God even in our greatest misery, in giving us both freedome and reliefe at one time. Departing hence, the next place we arrived at was Capaock, an Iland formerly discovered by the English, where I met with Epinew a Savage that had lived in England, and speakes indifferent good English, who foure yeeres since being carried home, was reported to have beene slaine, with divers of his Countreymen, by Saylers, which was false. With him I had much conference, who gave mee very good satisfaction in every thing almost I could demand. Time not permitting mee to search here, which I should have done for sundry things of speciall moment: the wind faire, I stood away shaping my course as the Coast led mee, till I came to the most Westerly part where the Coast began to fall away Southerly. In my way I discovered Land about thirtie leagues in length, heretofore taken for Mayne, where I feared I had beene imbayed, but by the helpe of an Indian I got to the Sea againe, through many crooked and streight passages. I let passe many accidents in this journey occasioned by treacherie, where wee were compelled twice to goe together by the eares, once the Savages had great advantage of us in a streight, not above a Bowe shot, and where a multitude of Indians let flye at us from the banke, but it pleased God to make us victours: neere unto this wee found a most dangerous Catwract amongst small rockie Ilands, occasioned by two unequall tydes, the one ebbing and flowing two houres before the other: here wee lost an Anchor by the strength of the current, but found it deepe enough: from hence wee were carried in a short space by the tydes swiftnesse into a great Bay (to us so appearing) but indeede is broken land, which gave us light of the Sea: here, as I said, the Land treadeth Southerly. In this place I talked with many Salvages, who told me of two sundry passages to the great Sea on the West, offered me Pilots, and one of them drew me a Plot with Chalke upon a Chest,

[IV. ix. 1779.]

whereby I found it a great Iland, parted the two Seas; they report the one scarce passable for shoalds, perillous currents, the other no question to be made of. Having received these directions, I hasten to the place of greatest hope, where I purposed to make triall of Gods goodnesse towards us, and use my best endevour to bring the truth to light, but wee were but onely shewed the entrance, where in seeking to passe wee were forced backe with contrary and overblowing windes, hardly escaping both our lives. Being thus overcharged with weather, I stood alongst the coast to seeke harbours, to attend a favourable gale to recover the streight, but being a harbourlesse Coast for ought we could then perceive, wee found no succour till wee arrived betwixt Cape Charles and the Maine on the East side the Bay Chestapeak, where in a wilde Roade wee anchored; and the next day (the eight of September) crossed the Bay to Kecoughtan, where the first newes strooke cold to our hearts, the generall sickenesse over the Land. Here I resolved with all possible speede to returne in pursuite of this businesse; so that after a little refreshing, wee recovered up the River to James Citie, and from thence to Cape Warde his Plantacion, where immediately wee fell to hewing of Boords for a close Decke, having found it a most desired course to attempt as before. As wee were thus labouring to effect our purposes, it pleased almighty God (who onely disposeth of the times and seasons, wherein all workes shall be accomplished) to visite us with his heavie hand, so that at one time there were but two of us able to helpe the rest, my selfe so sore shaken with a burning feaver, that I was brought even unto deaths doore, but at length by Gods assistance escaped, and have now with the rest almost recovered my former strength. The Winter having overtaken us (a time on these Coasts especially) subject to gusts and fearefull stormes, I have now resolved to choose a more temperate season, both for the generall good and our owne safeties. And thus I have sent you a broken discourse, though indeede very unwilling to

have given any notice at all, till it had pleased God to have blessed mee with a thorow search, that our eyes might have witnessed the truth. I have drawne a Plot of the Coast, which I dare not yet part with for feare of danger, let this therefore serve for confirmation of your hopes, till I can better performe my promise and your desire, for what I have spoken I can produce at least mille testes; farre separate, of the Sea behinde them, and of Ships, which come many dayes journey from the West, and of the great extent of this Sea to the North and South, not knowing any bounds thereof Westward. I cease to trouble you till a better opportunity offer it selfe, remembring my best love, &c. I rest

Yours to command,

THO. DERMER.

From Captaine Martyn his Plantation. 27. Decemb. 1619.

Cap. J. Smith. Sir Edw. Sands was Treasurer from Ap. 1619. till Jun. 1620.

To Sir Edwin Sands in the Treasurership succeeded the right Honorable Henry Earle of Southampton, whose industry together with that of those two brethren John and Nicolas Farrars the successive Deputies, have given much content to many, but to divers others matter of complaint; wherein I am an unfit Judge; onely as a reasonable man and Christian Minister (that I say not Historian) I am much grieved that Virginias prosperity cannot answer mens hopes; nor can any man mervaile if divisions (minde-massacres) here, with the massacring Savages and diseases there, have hindred there the expected effects of honorable and carefull indevours. Master Stockam, a Minister, writ thence, May the eight and twentieth, that which deserveth just consideration, that he found no probability by faire meanes alone to draw the Savages to goodnesse, and if Mars and Minerva went hand in hand, they would effect more good in one houre, then these verball Mercurians in

Master Stockams Letter to Master Whitaker before.

their lives: and till their Priests and Ancients have their throats cut, there is no hope to bring them to conversion.

Chap. XIIII.

[IV. ix. 1780.]

A true Relation of a Sea Fight betweene two great and well appointed Spanish Ships, or Men of Warre; and an English Ship, called the Margaret and John, or the Blacke Hodge, going for Virginia.

HAving taken our journey toward Virginia in the beginning of February last past, in a Ship called the Blacke Hodge, her burthen one hundred and sixtie tunne, manned onely with eight Iron Peeces, and a poore Faulcon, we soone over-passed both the tedious endurances and fearefull dangers of such a Voyage, and came at last by the foureteenth of March under 13. and halfe Latitude, within twenty leagues of Matalina. 1620.

Falling with Mevis by the twentieth of March, and compassing the furthest point to stand in the handsommer with the shore, wee perceived two tall Ships at anchor right over against the watring place with their top sayles loose, and their Boates going ashoare for their men. At first we supposed them Hollanders, in respect of their building, and the Hollanders colours borne by their Admirall in the maine top, the vice Admirall having his fore top mast downe, and no colors displayed, which encreased our former opinion, adding withall that it must needes be prise, or some other Ship subject to the misfortune of a fight. *Hollanders colours.*

But driving by necessity of water, and willing to refresh our selves a shoare, wee trimmed our Ship, and came to anchor fairely by them, sending our Boate in friendly manner to hale them both unprovided and unarmed, which returned with certificate, that they were Spaniards,

wherein not fully satisfied, by reason of our former apprehension that it was otherwise; the better to be resolved, we sent out our Boate againe, as well to be assured what to trust unto, as to gaine sometime to prepare our Shippe, and trim her more commodiously, being pestered with goods and fardels betweene the deckes, and altogether unprovided for any fight, either offensive or defensive.

The Boate approached the hindmost Ship, which I call the vice-Admirall, and haled her, demanding who they were, but instead of resolving us, she commanded them to come aboord, and would answere no otherwise; whereupon the Boate rowed from them, as resolving all was not well, and so made haste unto us againe, yet could not prevent a volley of small shot powred very dangerously amongst them, insomuch that they had their cloathes shot through, their Oares shivered, and the sides battered with Bullets; yet thankes be to God, neither was a man hurt, nor any thing lost; which, as if they had had notice of the same escape, rated their rage so much the more: For by that time the Boate was out of reach of their small shot, they followed it to the Ship with great Ordnance; and when they perceived they were safely come aboord, they tooke it so ill, that they thundred against our Ship with the soarer rage, and most violent vollies, which we could not answer, having no Peece in our gunner roome, nor indeede any other well mounted for such a Sea fight.

The Spaniards shot at the boat.

They shot at the Ship.

English unprepared for fight.

Spanish advantages.

By this time their vice Admirall heaved up her anchor to her warpe, and laid her selfe to wind-ward, if either we should passe forward, or anchor short againe, so that we perceived they meant to assault us on all hands: for she let flye a whole broad-side upon us, and came furiously up to our lee quarter without damage or resistance of our parts.

But when we were thus terrified and threatned by them, and thus encombred and disanimated amongst our selves, knowing withall (by reason of our ill prepared Ordnance) the disadvantage and hazard to be boorded

at anchor by two good Ships well prepared for spoyle and ruine; we hoysed up our sailes, and determined to set forward, had not the vice-Admirall come on our star-boord side, and beate upon us so hardly, that we fell to our businesse, and answered their unkindenesse accordingly with many faire shot, which proved most effectuall, especially from a demy-culvering, which at last shot her betweene winde and water, so that shee was compelled from us, and bare off to Sea, leaving her Admirall onely single with us, who at last came fairely in our quarter to winde-ward, taking in her Holland flagge, and advanced her Spanish colours, and so haled us. *Spanish colors.*

We quietly and quickly answered, both what we were, and whither wee were bound, discovering the effect of our Commission, and relating the cause of our tarrying there for water, neither purposing to annoy any subject of the King of Spaines, nor by way of affront to brave either Merchant or man of Warre. Then she charged us to strike our sailes for the King of Spaine, and vaile the bonnet according to the prerogative they had in those Seas: we replyed with enlarging the particulars of the league betweene the King our Master and their King, adding with all, that as we intended no ill, we would take no wrong; Whereupon the Master left the poope, and sequestred himselfe from such open conference; had they not called for the Captaine againe, who at last presented himselfe, till they commanded him to come aboord with his Commission, which he refused, yet wished them to send their Boat aboord, and then they should see it most willingly. *Their conference.* [IV. ix. 1781.]

But instead either of answering us further with kinde words, or accepting of our reply in good part, they made two great shot at us, and poured among us such a volley of small shot, before we could get off the poope, that we thanked God they did no more harme, yet we were much amazed they did so much: not thus content they waved us with their bright swords, and reviled us with *Insolence of the Spaniards.*

opprobrious tearmes, mis-tearming us dogs, and inventing more odious names against us, then we could imagine that Christians durst urge one another withall: at last they laid us aboord, which enforced us to raise up our maine sayle, and to give the word to our small shot, which all this while lay close, well resolved and prepared: but sodainely breaking forth wee plyed them in such sort that wee made them give backe and shrinke from their former forwardnesse.

The English fight.

The fight continued some halfe houre in our quarter, and according to the terrour of such encounters, wee were compast as it were in fire and smoake, untill they discovered the waste of our Ship naked, and were encouraged with the hope of reciprocall damage, whereupon they bravely ranne upon our side, and laid us aboord loofe to loofe, hastning with Pikes and Swords to enter, to which was added such fury, that if they had not beene prevented, we should have shrunke under the rage of a barbarous slaughter: but it pleased God so to direct our Master with advice, and encourage our men with valour, that our Pikes being formerly placed under our halfe decke, and certaine shot lying close for that purpose under the portels of the Shippe, encountred them so bravely, that their fury was not onely rebated, but their hastinesse intercepted, and the whole Company beaten backe, especially upon the wind-ward side, where the charge was hottest, and the fight bloodiest; for there the throng was great, and men had worke enough to make proofe of their courages and fortunes. Divers of our men were hurt, and many fell on their side.

Spaniards seeke to enter.

Their repulse.

In the end they were violently repulsed by us, enforced to a retreat, untill they were reinforced backe againe by their Commanders, who standing upon tearmes of honor, as being men of Warre, and designed for that purpose, thought it an indignity to be so afronted and countermanded; which caused a second charge, and that was answered with a second beating backe, till the Captaine himselfe grew enraged, as not brooking to be so much

Second charge.

overmated, and constrained them to come on a fresh, which they did so effectually, that questionlesse it had wrought an alteration, if the God that tosseth Monarchies, and teareth the Mountaines in his fury, had not taught us to tosse our Pikes with prosperous event, and poured out a sodaine volley of small shot upon them, whereby that worthy Commander was slaine at the foote of a Pike, and many of his Souldiers dropped downe on the top of the hatches. Presently our Master tooke advantage of their discomfiture (though with some commiseration for their valiant Captaine so slaine) that hee not onely plyed them a fresh with great Ordnance, but had more false shot under the Pikes, which were bestowed to good purpose, and amased our enemies with the sodainnesse.

Third charge.

Their Captain slaine.

Amongst the rest one Lucas our Carpenters mate must not be forgotten, who perceived a way how to annoy them, as they were thus pusled and in a confusion, drue out a minion which hee nobly set a worke under the halfe decke, till at the last hee brought it to the doxe of the halfe decke, and there bent it upon them, but in such a manner, that when it was fiered the cases full of stones and peeces of Iron fell upon them like haile, and cleared their decke in such a sort that it slue many, and in short time we saw few assailants, but onely such as crept from place to place very covertly, and seemed willing to obscure themselves from the fury of our shot, which now was thicker then theirs: For although (as farre as we may commend our enemies) they had done some things worthy of admiration: yet either wanting men, or overtaken with the unlooked for valour of our company, they now began to shrinke, and gave us leave to be wanton with our advantage.

Lucas his brave act.

The case altered. Omnium rerum vicissitudo.

Yet were our great Ordnance onely foure, that we could use in this fight, but it should seeme they served the turne as well as foure times foure: for they shot her divers times betweene winde and water, and so prevailed, that at last we saw many signes of their

The English could use but foure Ordnance.

willingnesse to leave us, but by reason she was fast in a slach of our cable, which in haste of weighing our anchor hung loose, she could not be divided nor make that way shee purposed, untill one of our men cut it with an Axe without direction, and was slaine for his labour. But when she perceived she was loose, after she had beene a boord two houres and a halfe, good Lord what haste she made, and how quickly were we divided, both great and small shot playing on both sides, which lasted untill the remotenesse was above a Caliver shot, and we discovered the vice-Admirall comming to her assistance, who began a farre off to ply us with great shot, and put us in minde we had another worke in hand.

Spaniards fall off.

Whereupon wee manned our Ship a new, separating the dead and hurt bodies by themselves from us, and were so encouraged, that we waved her, and in a manner made toward her to fight a fresh: For when we perceived, that the Admirall made not a shot more at us, we verily imagined, that either she was preparing her selfe with a new supply, or wanted men to make her serviceable or resolved to goe away from us, considering shee had lost her Captaine; yet loth to bee secure, and imagining the Vice-admirall might come and boord us finding us play, till the Admirall did make her selfe better readie, we prepared our selves, wondring yet that shee came no neerer us then Falcon shot, wherewith she plyed us still on the Lee side, untill at last she received another payment from our Demie-culvering, which shot her through, and made her beare with the shore into smooth water, where shee remayned till two of the clocke after midnight, and so wee had time to reforme our disorders, and make our selves better readie for the next dayes varietie.

Bravado turned English.

[IV. ix. 1782.]

Next dayes fight.

By breake of day she came up againe with the Admirall with her; as if they determined indeed to devoure us at once; but as it seemed it was but a Bravado, though for the time they forsooke not our

quarter within Musket shot: for all that night and morning they were quiet Neighbours, and kept us company without any great annoyance with their Top-sayles downe, not knowing, as it should seeme, what to doe with us, or else suspecting their owne hurts and Leakes, they durst not trust themselves too farre from Land, nor to the furie of another encounter. All that night we had time and leisure to over-looke our losses, and prepare for them, the Admirall made shew of an encounter, and we after Prayers were ended provided to fight with them, but suddenly wee perceived the Vice-Admirall hang a sterne, cutting her mayne sayle to come up, and stirring very ill.

At length the Admirall shooke in the wind, and by apparant signes gave us notice of slacking her course, whereby we might runne a head and follow the Seas at her pleasure, so wee perceived the Vice-Admirall with all her Sayles to make towardes an Iland called Sana, which the Admirall either tooke notice of, as knowing the danger she was in, or gave directions accordingly, considering there was no good to bee done with us: for presently she tacked about and lost us, bearing toward that Iland also.

The Vice-Admirall seeketh to recover the Iland, and the qualitie, Sana.

Wee lost Doctor Bohune, and seven other were slaine out-right: two died shortly after of their wounds, and sixteene were shot through in some part or other of the bodie, whose wounds Gods be thanked were recured and without mayme or further impeachment of health are now recovered and settled in Virginia, according to our first entended purpose and Commission: I reckon not such as are hurt with Pikes and other offensive Weapons, because there was no danger in their cures, and the skilfull Surgeon shewed his art and good speed with facilitie. How many they lost wee cannot tell, nor what men of name were entertayned amongst them, onely I am sure we saw many lie slaine on the Decke, and more cast over-boord in the fight, besides the Scuppers ran with bloud, and the very Sea in their

Doctor Bolune and seven others slaine out-right.

Spanish losse.

quarter was coloured with a Scarlet hue, and looked fearfully upon us all.

Spanish ships described.

The burthen of their Admirall was three hundred tunnes, having two and twentie Peeces of Brasse, and all provision of a man of Warre indeed: their Vice-Admirall three hundred tuns, and sixteene cast Peeces, nor much inferiour to her for trimming and correspondent Equipage, and both to outward shew over-masterfull and daring for one poore Merchant and Passenger, being but a hundred and sixtie tunnes, having eight Iron Peeces and one Falcon, over-loaden with Stuffe and Wares, encombred with Passengers, toyled with a storme, tyred with a long Voyage, affrighted with wants, and every way insufficient to answere any such enemie: but as it is in the Scripture, it is all one to thee, O God, whether there be few or many, and Gedeons three hundred shall slay many thousands of the Midianites: as for deliverances, the people of Israell shall passe through the Red Sea dry foot: Jonas shall bee cast safe on shoare out of the Whales belly: and Paul shall escape shipwracke, saving his life with all his Passengers in the Iland of Malta.

For to conclude with the purpose in hand, there is one thing most remarkable as an inducement to this our deliverance, that Captaine Chester embraced Doctor Bohune beeing mortally wounded, and thus recomforted him, saying, O Doctor Bohune what a disaster is this; the Noble Doctor no whit exanimated, replyed; Fight it out brave man, the cause is good, and Lord receive my soule.

A Sea Fight.

Slaine out right. Doctor Bohune. Thomas Demeter Gentleman. Th. Read. William Garret. Th. Vernam. Gabriel Petes. David Bathering. Raph. &c. Died after. Francis Annis Gentleman. Ed. Nerobery Sayler. Wounded yet cured. William Bird Gentleman. Alexander Boventine. William Bannington Gentleman. William Joyce

Quarter Master. John Wakings. John Wilson Sayler. George Tayler Sayler. William Lucas Sayler. John Robbins Steward. Phillip Durwine. Three Frenchmen. Robert Lector. Anthony Browne Gentleman.

Chap. XV.

Virginian affaires since the yeere 1620. till this present 1624. [IV. ix. 1783.]

§. I.

A note of the shipping, men, and provisions sent and provided for Virginia, by the Right Honourable Henry Earle of South-hampton, and the Company, and other private Adventurers, in the yeere 1621. &c. with other Occurrents then published by the Company.

Ships And People.

1 THe Elianor 30. tun: in May 1621. with 10. persons.
2 The George 180. tun: in July. 120.
3 The Charles 120. tunne: in July. 80.
4 The Marmaduke 100. tun: in July 80.
5 The Temperance 80. tun: in July 50.
6 The Warwicke 160. tun: in August 100.
7 The Tigre 40. tun: in August 40.
8 The Sea-flowre 140. tun: in August 120.
9 The Flying Hart 200. tun: in August 60. Men, and 40. Cattell.
10 The Discoverie 60. tun: in November 20.
11 The Bona Nova 200. tun: in November 50.
12 The Hope-well 60. tun: in November 20.
13 The God-speed 150. tun: in Aprill 1622. 100.
14 The Gift of God 140. tun: in Aprill 100.
15 The Prime-Rose 80. tun: in Aprill 60
16 The Charitie 80. tun: in Aprill 30.

17 The Bonaventure 50. tun: in Aprill 10.
18 The White Lion 180. tun: in May 40 Men, 40. Cattell.
19 The Furtherance 180. tun: in May 80. men.
20 The Margaret and John 160. tun: in May 80.
21 The James 120. tun: in May 80.
Summe of the persons, 1300. Cattell 80.

Sent also to the Summer Ilands by that Company.

22 The Joseph 150. tun: in May 1621. 100. persons.
23 The James 120. tun: in July 80.
24 The Concord 180. tun: in August 70.
Persons 250.

So there is foure and twentie Sayle of ships, with five hundred Mariners in them imployed to these Plantations in this yeere.

Besides, there are now providing severall ships in divers parts of this Kingdome to transport to the Plantations above five hundred persons.

And for the benefit of the Plantations these things following have beene here done this yeere.

Beads. Sixteene persons and others have beene provided and sent for the making of Beads for trade in the Countrie with the Natives, and for making Glasse of all sorts.

Maids. Seven and fiftie young Maides have beene sent to make wives for the Planters, divers of which were well married before the comming away of the Ships.

Magazine. A Magazine hath beene sent of all necessaries for the Colonie, to the value of two thousand pound, besides all private mens sending goods, which was very ample, Trade being set open for all his Majesties Subjects.

Furre-trade. A ship called the Discoverie, hath beene set out for the rich Trade of Furres, which both the French and Hollanders have yeerely within our Precincts, and within fiftie leagues of us.

Boat-builders. Five and twentie persons for the building of Boats, Pinnasses and Ships, for the necessarie use of the Colonie for fishing, Trade, and

Discoverie, &c. Seven persons sent for planting the thousand Acres of Land given to the East Indie Schoole. *East Indie Schoole.*

Other Occurents of Note.

The Governours arrivall in Virginia, at the end of the last Summer, with nine ships, and neere seven hundred people, all safely, and in good health. The admirable deliverance of divers ships; and namely, of the Tiger, which beeing driven strangely neere two hundred leagues out of her course, fell into the Turkes hands, and yet came save to Virginia.

Master Berkleyes Letters assure us, that there is not a more fit place for Iron-workes then in Virginia, both for Wood, Water, Mynes, and Stone: and that by Whitsontide next, wee may relie upon Iron made by him. [IV. ix. 1784.] *Iron.*

The Plants of Cotton-wooll trees that came out of the West Indies, prosper exceeding well, and the Cotton-wooll-feeds from the Mogols Countrie come up, and grow: Samples of it they have sent; and this Commoditie they hope this yeere to bring to a good perfection and quantitie. The Indico Seed thrives well, but they yet want knowledge how to cure it. *Cotton.* *Indico.*

Our Frenchmen assure us that no Countrie in the World is more proper for Vines, Silke, Olives, Rice, &c. then Virginia, and that it excelleth their owne Countrey. The Vines beeing in abundance naturally over all the Countrey: a taste of which Wine they have alreadie sent us, with hope the next yeere to send us a good quantitie. There bee Mulberie trees in wonderfull abundance, and much excelling both in goodnesse and greatnesse those of their Countrey of Languedocke. To the full perfecting of both which rich Commodities of Wine and Silke, there wanteth nothing but hands. And of the Mulberies may bee made also good wholesome Wine for the people there. And of a certaine Plumme in the Countrey, they have made good drinke. *Vines.* *Silke and Mulberies.* *Plum-drinke.*

Salt-workes are erecting (the proper place being now found, as the Rocheller doth certifie us) whereby many *Salt-workes.*

ships will transport people at easier rates hereafter, finding Salt there to furnish them for the great and profitable fishings upon that Coast, whither twentie sayle of ships went this last yeere out of the Westerne parts of England, besides the ships formerly mentioned.

New Discoveries by M. Pory.

Master John Porie hath of late made a Discoverie into the great Bay Northward (yet at the bottome of it he was not, reserving it to a second Voyage) where are now setled neere one hundred English very happily, with hope of a good Trade of Furres there to bee had. And Terra Lemnia was sent us from thence, which is found as good as that of Turkey, and is in great abundance to be had.

In February last he likewise discovered to the South River, some sixtie miles over Land from us, a very fruitfull and pleasant Countrey, full of Rivers, wherein are two Harvests in one yeere (the great King giving him friendly entertainment, and desirous to make a league with us) hee found also there in great quantitie of the same Silke-grasse (as appeareth by the samples sent us) whereof Master Heriot in his Booke 1587. makes relation, who then brought home some of it, with which a piece of Grogeran was made, and given to Queene Elizabeth, and some heere who have lived in the East Indies affirme, that they make all their Cambaya Stuffes of this, and Cotton-wooll. Also in his passage by Land, Master Porey discovered a Countrey full of Pine-trees, above twentie miles long, whereby a great abundance of Pitch and Tarre may bee made: and other sorts of woods there were, fit for Pot-ashes and Sope-ashes.

Copper Mine.

The Indians have made relation of a Copper Myne, that is not farre from thence, how they gather it, and the strange making of it: a piece whereof was sent home, being found (after trial) very excellent metall. Some of the English have made relation of a China Boxe seene at one of the Kings Houses, who declared, that it was sent him from the West, by a King that

dwels over the great Hils, whose Countrey is neere the Sea, he having that Boxe from a people as hee said, that come thither in ships, and weare clothes, and dwell in Houses, and are called Acanackchina. And he offered our people that he would send his Brother along with them to that King: which the Governour purposeth not to refuse, hoping thereby to discover the South Sea, so long talked of.

A small ship comming in December last from the Summer-Ilands, to Virginia, brought thither from thence these Plants, viz. Vines of all sorts, Orange and Leman trees, Sugar Canes, Cassado Roots (that make bread) Pines, Plantans, Potatoes, and sundry other Indian fruits and plants, not formerly seene in Virginia, which begin to prosper very well. *Summer Iland Plants.*

Gifts.

The Gentlemen and Mariners that came in the Royall James, from the East Indies (beeing at Cape Bona Speranza homeward bound) gave towards the building of a Free Schoole in Virginia, to be called the East Indie Schoole, the summe of seventie pound eight shillings six pence.

Towards the furtherance of the said East India Schoole, an unknowne person hath added the summe of thirtie pound.

A person refusing to be made knowne, hath given the summe of fortie shillings a yeere for ever, for a Sermon, before the Virginia Company thirtie pounds.

At a Quarter Court held the thirtieth of January 1621. by a person not willing as yet to bee knowne, was sent in Gold to helpe forward the East Indie Schoole, five and twentie pounds.

At the same Quarter Court, a small Bible, with a cover richly wrought; a great Church Bible; Bookes of Common Prayer; and other Books were presented to be sent to Virginia, in the name of a person who had the yeere before sent, for the use of the Colledge at

Henrico, divers Bookes, and an exact Map of America; the Giver is not knowne, but the Bookes are valued at tenne pound.

[IV. ix. 1785.] Given by Master Thomas Bargrave, Preacher in Virginia deceassed, for the use of the Colledge, a Library valued at a hundred Markes.

And there is a contribution made by the Inhabitants in Virginia, for the building of an house of entertainment for new commers at James Citie, amounting to the value of fifteene hundred pounds.

Patents granted this yeere.

1 To the Ladie Dale.
2 To Sir Dudly Digges.
3 To Sir John Bourchier.
4 To Captaine Ralph Hamer.
5 To Master Arthur Swayne, &c.
6 To Master Rowland Truelove, &c.
7 To Master John Crowe.
8 To Master Edward Rider.
9 To Captaine Simon Leeke.
10 To Master Daniell Gookin.
11 To Master Edward Bennet.
12 To Master Joseph Leming.
13 To Sir Charles North.
14 To Sir George Yeardly.
15 To Master Thomas Leveson.
16 To Captaine William Wildon.
17 To Master Henry Southey.
18 To Martins Hundred.
19 To Master Robert Moston.
20 To Master Edmund Wynne.
21 To Captaine Henry Pelham, &c.
22 To Captaine Daniell Tucker.
23 To Sir Bowyer Worsly.
24 To Master Thomas Buckley.
25 To Master Francis Harwell.
26 To Sir John Brooke.

Who together with their Associates, have undertaken to transport great multitudes of people and cattle to Virginia.

§. II.

Newes from Virginia in Letters sent thence 1621. partly published by the Company, partly transcribed from the Originals, with Letters of his Majestie, and of the Company touching Silke-workes.

IN the three last yeeres of 1619. 1620. and 1621. there hath beene provided and sent for Virginia two and fortie Saile of ships, three thousand five hundred and seventie men and women for Plantation, with requisite provisions, besides store of Cattle, and in those ships have beene above twelve hundred Mariners imployed: There hath also beene sent in those yeeres nine ships to the Summer Ilands with about nine hundred people to inhabit there, in which ships two hundred and fortie Mariners were imployed. In which space have beene granted fifty Patents to particular persons, for Plantation in Virginia, who with their Associates have undertaken therein to transport great multitudes of people and cattell thither, which for the most part is since performed, and the residue now in preparing, as by the severall Declarations of each yeere in their particulars, (manifested and approoved in our generall and publike Quarter-Courts) and for the fuller satisfaction of all desirous to understand the particularities of such proceedings, hath beene by printing commended to the understanding of all.

3570. *people sent to Virginia in the three last yeeres* 42. *Saile of ships,* 1200. *Mariners imployed.* 1500. *To the Summer Ilands. Nine ships, &* 240. *Mariners imployed.*

Sir Francis Wiat was sent Governour into Virginia, who arrived there in November 1621. with Master George Sandys Treasurer, Master Davison Secretarie, &c. In the nine ships sent in that Fleet died but one Passenger of seven hundred, in whose roome there was another also borne at Sea. Their provisions were not

found so well conditioned as was expected. The Sailers are still blamed for imbezelling the goods sent to private persons, for killing of Swine, inordinate trucking &c. It was ordained that for every head they should plant but a thousand plants of Tobacco (and for the better strength not to suffer above nine leaves to grow on each plant) which will make about a hundred weight.

Master Gookin arrived also out of Ireland with fiftie men of his owne, and thirtie Passengers well furnished. The present gaine by Tobacco, had made the planting of Corne to be neglected: and some thinke that if Corne might there be valued (not at two shillings sixe pence the bushell) as deere as that which is brought from hence, there would be lesse feare of famine, or dependance on Tobacco.

The Letters written from the Governour and Treasurer in Virginia in the beginning of March last, (which came hither in Aprill) gave assurance of overcomming and bringing to perfection in this yeere, the Iron-workes, Glasse-workes, Salt-workes, the plentifull sowing of all sorts of English graine with the Plough, having now cleered good quantitie of ground; setting of store of Indian Corne or Maiz, sufficient for our selves, and for trucke with the Natives; restraint of the quantitie of Tobacco, and amendment of it in the qualitie, learned by time and experience; The planting of Vines and Mulberie trees neere to their Houses, Figge-trees, Pomegranates, Potatoes, and Cotton-wooll Seeds, Pocoon, Indico, Sugar Canes, Madder, Woade, Hempe, Flaxe, and Silke-grasse; and for the erecting of a faire Inne [IV. ix. 1786.] in James Citie for the better entertainment of new commers, whereto and to other publike workes, every old Planter there offered freely and liberally to contribute. I write the words of their Letters. And how in a late Discoverie made, a few moneths before by some of them to the Southward, they had past thorow great Forrests of Pines, fifteene or sixteene miles broad, and above threescore miles long, very fit for Masts

Forrest of Pines.

for shipping, and for Pitch and Tarre, and of other sorts of woods fit for Pot-ashes and Sope-ashes, and came unto a most fruitfull Countrey, blessed with abundance of Corne, reaped twice a yeere (within the limits of Virginia) where also they understand of a Copper Myne, an essay whereof was sent, and upon triall here found to be very rich, and met with a great deale of Silke-grasse there growing, which monethly may be cut, of which kinds, and Cotton-wooll, all the Cambaya and Bengala Stuffes are made in the East Indies: and of which kindes of Silke-grasse was heretofore made a piece of Grogeram given to Queene Elizabeth. And how that in December last they had planted and cultivated in Virginia Vines of all (as well those naturally growing, as those other Plants sent them from these parts of Europe) Orenge and Lemon-trees, Fig-trees, Sugar Canes, Cotton-wooll, Cassavi Roots (that make very good bread) Plantanes, Potatoes, and sundry other Indian fruits and Plants not formerly seene in Virginia, which at the time of their said Letters began to prosper very well: as also their Indico Seed, for the true cure whereof there is lately caused a Treatise to be written.

M. Hariot in his Booke of Virginia, A. 1585. Vines planted.

Furthermore, they write that in a Voyage made by Lieutenant Marmaduke Parkinson, and other English Gentlemen, up the River of Patomacke they saw a China Boxe at one of the Kings Houses where they were. This Boxe or Casket was made of braided Palmito, painted without, and lined in the inside with blue Taffata after the China or East India fashion. They enquiring whence it came, the King of Patomecke said, it was presented him by a certaine people of the Mountaines toward the South-west, who got it from another Nation beyond them some thirtie dayes journie from Patomacke, called Acana Echinac, beeing of small stature, who had Houses, Apparell, and Houshold stuffe like us, and living within foure dayes journey of the Sea, had ships come into their River: and he his

Note. A China Boxe seene with the Savages.

Brother along with them to that King, which offer the Governour purposed not to refuse; and the rather, by reason of the continuall constant relations of all those Savages in Virginia, of a Sea, and the way to it West, they affirming that the heads of all those seven goodly Rivers (the least whereof is greater then the River of Thames, and Navigable above an hundred and fiftie miles, and not above sixe or eight miles one from another) which fall all into one great Bay, have their rising out of a ridge of Hils, that runnes all along South and North: whereby they doubt not but to find a safe, easie, and good passage to the South Sea, part by water, and part by Land, esteeming it not above an hundred and fiftie miles from the head of the Falls, where we are now planted; the Discoverie whereof will bring forth a most rich Trade to Cathay, China, Japan, and those other of the East Indies, to the inestimable benefit of this Kingdome.

M. Berkley. Moreover, the Letters of Master John Berkley, sometimes of Bevestone Castle in the Countie of Glocester, (a Gentleman of an Honourable Family) likewise certifie, that a more fit place for Iron-workes (whereof he was made Master and Over-seer) then in Virginia, both for Wood, Water, Mynes, and Stone, was not to be found: And that by Whitsontide the Company might relye upon good quantities of Iron made by him: which also by *M. G. Sandys.* Letters from Master George Sandys the third of March last, was confirmed, with this farther description of the place (called The falling Creeke) to be so fitting for that purpose, as if Nature had applyed her selfe to the wish and direction of the Workman; where also were great stones hardly seene else-where in Virginia, laying on the place, as though they had beene brought thither to advance the erection of those Workes.

French Vignerons. The Letters of the French Vignerons or Vine-men, procured out of France, and sent over into Virginia, did likewise assertaine, that no Countrey in the World was more proper for Vines, Silke, Rice, Olives, and other

fruits, then Virginia is: and that it farr excelled their owne Countrie of Languedocke; the Vines of divers sorts being in abundance naturally over all the Countrey. They scarsly beleeved those fruits to be Grapes till they had opened them and seene their kernels; such was their bignesse. They are in love with the Countrey, and having planted some cuttings of Vines at Michaelmas last, in their Letters affirme that these bare Grapes alreadie this Spring to their great wonder, as being a thing they suppose not heard off in any other Countrie. A taste of Wine made of the wilde Grape, they last yeere sent, with hope to send a good quantitie this next Vintage; and that the Mulbery trees, where they abode were in wonderfull abundance, and much excelling both in goodnesse and greatnesse those of their owne Countrey of Languedocke: and that those Silke-wormes they have, prosper exceeding well, and some Silke they hope to send this yeere, there wanting nothing to set up that rich Commoditie but store of hands wherewith England doth abound. Of the fruit of which Mulbery trees (as of a Plumme there plentifully growing) they would make wholsome Drinkes for the Colonie and people there. *Mulberies*

Opachankanough doted on a house which the English had built for him of our fashion: hee dwelled therein, shewed it to his owne people and strangers with pride, keeping his Keyes charily, and busying himselfe with locking and unlocking the doores, sometimes a hundred times in a day, admiring the strangenesse of that Engine, a Locke and Key. Hee gave the English leave to seate themselves any where on his Rivers where the Natives are not actually seated, and entred into further covenants of amity, for reciprocall defence, mutuall transportation, discovery of mines, &c. They report also of Copper Peeces presented to Opachank: which Copper is gathered at the foote of the Mountaines, where they digge a hole in the ground, in which they put the oare, and make thereon a great fire, which causeth it to runne into a [IV. ix. 1787.]

masse, and become malleable: neither have they any tooles, but smooth stones for that purpose. This seemed strange to ours which heard the English Copper passeth eleven fires.

His Majesties gracious Letter to the Earle of South-hampton, Treasurer, and to the Counsell and Company of Virginia here: commanding the present setting up of Silke workes, and planting of Vines in Virginia.

RIght trusty and welbeloved, We greete you well: whereas We understand, that the Soyle in Virginia naturally yeeldeth store of excellent Mulberry trees, We have taken into Our Princely consideration, the great benefit that may grow to the Adventurers and Planters, by the breede of Silkewormes, and setting up of Silke-workes in those parts. And therefore of Our gracious Inclination to a designe of so much honour and advantage to the publike, We have thought good, as at sundry other times, so now more particularly to recommend it to your speciall care, hereby charging and requiring you to take speedy order, that our people there, use all possible diligence in breeding Silkewormes, and erecting Silke-workes, and that they rather bestow their travell in compassing this rich and solid Commodity, then in that of Tobacco; which besides much unnecessary expence, brings with it many disorders and inconveniences. And for as much as Our servant, John Bonoell hath taken paines in setting downe the true use of the Silkeworme, together with the Art of Silkemaking, and of planting Vines, and that his experience and abilities may much conduce to the advancement of this businesse; We doe hereby likewise require you to cause his directions, both for the said Silkeworkes and Vineyards, to be carefully put in practice thorowout our Plantations there, that so the worke may goe on cheerefully, and receive no more interruptions nor delayes.

Given under Our Signet, at our Pallace of Westminster, the ninth day of July, in the twentieth yeare of our Raigne of England, France and Ireland, and of Scotland the five and fiftieth.

To Our right trusty and right welbeloved Cousin and Councellour, Henry, Earle of South-hampton, Treasurer of our Plantation in Virginia, and to Our trusty and welbeloved, the Deputy, and others of Our said Plantation.

Virginia. WINDEBANK.

The Treasurour, Counsell and Company of Virginia, to the Governour and Counsell of State in Virginia residing.

AFter our very harty commendations: His Sacred Majesty, out of his high wisedome and care of the noble Plantation of Virginia, hath beene graciously pleased to direct his Letters to us here in England, thereby commanding us to advance the setting up of Silkworkes, and planting of Vineyards; as by the Copy herewith sent, you may perceive.

The intimation of his Majesties pleasure, we conceive to be a motive sufficient, to induce you to imploy all your indevors to the setting forward those two Staple Commodities of Silke and Wine; which brought to their perfection, will infinitely redound to the honour, benefit, and comfort of the Colony, and of this whole Kingdome: yet we, in discharge of our duties, doe againe renew our often and iterated Instructions, and invite you cheerefully, to fall upon these two so rich, and necessary Commodities. And if you shall finde any person, either through negligence or wilfulnesse, to omit the planting of Vines, and Mulberry trees, in orderly and husbandly manner, as by the Booke is prescribed, or the providing of convenient roomes for the breeding of Wormes; we desire they may by severe censures and punishment, be compelled thereunto. And on the contrary, that all favour and possible

assistance be given to such as yeelde willing obedience to his Highnesse Commands therein. The breach or performance whereof, as we are bound to give a strict account, so will it also be required of you the Governour and Counsell especially. Herein there can be no Plea, either of difficulty or impossibility; but all the contrary appeares, by the naturall abundance of those two excellent Plants afore-named every where in Virginia: neither will such excuses be admitted, nor any other pretences serve, whereby the businesse be at all delayed: and as wee formerly sent at our great charge the French Vignerons to you, to teach you their Art; so for the same purpose we now commend this Booke unto you, to serve as an Instructour to every one, and send you store of them to be dispersed over the whole Colony, to every Master of a Family one, Silke-seede you shall receive also by this Ship, sufficient to store every man: so that there wants nothing, but industry in the Planter, suddenly to bring the making of Silke to its perfection: which either for their owne benefit (we hope) they will willingly indevour, or by a wholesome and necessary severity they must be inforced.

[IV. ix. 1788.]

The Booke is printed, containing many good rules both for Silkworks, Vines & other husbandry; but too long here to be inserted.

This particular advice we thought necessary to give you, lest that if it should have come to you mingled with others, you would have interpreted it as a common Instruction, or a businesse that was not taken so to heart, as this by us, and we hope will be by you in humble obedience to his Sacred Majesties Royall Instructions. The paines and industry of the Authour, for the benefit of the Plantations (being a member of our Company) are sufficient arguments of his good affection to the Action, and they both deserve your best acceptance and ours, that others may thereby be invited to impart their knowledge in businesse of this and the like nature; whereby the Colony may not onely be supported for the present, but brought to that perfection, that may redound to the glory of God, the honour of his Majestie, and the inestimable benefit of his noble Kingdomes; which as they are the

true aime and end the Adventurers and Planters have proposed unto themselves, so ought they to be still the honorable seedes to put others also forward in this action: we commend this businesse againe to your speciall care. And so we commit you all, and your waighty affaires, to the protection of the Almighty.

HENRY Southampton.

§. III.

The barbarous Massacre committed by the Savages on the English-Planters, March the two and twentieth, 1621. after the English accompt.

THE last May there came Letters from Sir Francis Wiat Governour in Virginia, which did advertise that when in November last he arrived in Virginia, and entred upon his Government, he found the Country setled in a peace (as all men there thought) sure and unviolable, not onely because it was solemnly ratified and sworne, and at the request of the Native King stamped in Brasse, and fixed to one of his Oakes of note, but as being advantagious to both parts; to the Savages as the weaker, under which they were safely sheltred and defended; to us, as being the easiest way then thought to pursue and advance our projects, or buildings, plantings, and effecting their conversion by peaceable and faire meanes. And such was the conceit of firme peace and amity, as that there was seldome or never a Sword worne, and a Peece seldomer, except for a Deere or Fowle. By which assurance of security, the Plantations of particular Adventurers and Planters were placed scatteringly and straglingly as a choyce veine of rich ground invited them, and the further from neighbours held the better. The houses generally set open to the Savages, who were alwayes friendly entertained at the table of the English, and commonly lodged in their Bed-chambers. The old Planters (as they thought now come to reape the benefit of their long travels) placed with wonderfull content upon

Hasty security.

their private dividends, and the planting of particular Hundreds and Colonies pursued with an hopefull alacrity, all our projects (saith he) in a faire way, and their familiarity with the Natives, seeming to open a faire gate for their conversion to Christianity.

Opachankanoes dissimulation occasioned by English security.

The Country being in this estate, an occasion was ministred of sending to Opachankano the King of these Savages, about the middle of March last, what time the Messenger returned backe with these words from him, That he held the peace concluded so firme, as the Skie should sooner fall then it dissolved: yea, such was the treacherous dissimulation of that people, who then had contrived our destruction, that even two dayes before the massacre, some of our men were guided thorow the woods by them in safety: and one Browne, who then to learne the language lived among the Warrascoyacks (a Province of that King) was in friendly manner sent backe by them to Captaine Hamor his Master, and many the like passages, rather increasing our former confidence, then any wise in the world ministring the least suspition of the breach of the peace, or of what instantly ensued; yea, they borrowed our owne Boats to convey themselves crosse the River (on the bankes of both sides whereof all our Plantations were) to consult of the divellish murder that ensued, and of our utter extirpation, which God of his mercy (by the meanes of some of themselves converted to Christianity) prevented: and as well on the Friday morning (the fatall day) the two and twentieth of March, as also in the evening, as in other dayes before, they came unarmed into our houses, without Bowes or Arrowes, or other weapons, with Deere, Turkies, Fish, Furres, and other provisions, to sell and trucke with us for Glasse Beades, and other trifles: yea, in some places, sat downe at Breakfast with our people at their tables, whom immediately with their owne tooles and weapons, either laid downe, or standing in their houses, they basely and barbarously murthered, not sparing either age or sexe, man, woman or childe; so sodaine

[IV. ix. 1789.]

in their cruell execution, that few or none discerned the weapon or blow that brought them to destruction. In which manner they also slew many of our people then at their severall workes and husbandries in the fields, and without their houses, some in planting Corne and Tobacco, some in gardening, some in making Bricke, building, sawing, and other kindes of husbandry, they well knowing in what places and quarters each of our men were, in regard of their daily familiarity, and resort to us for trading and other negotiations, which the more willingly was by us continued and cherished for the desire we had of effecting that great master-peece of workes, their conversion. And by this meanes that fatall Friday morning, there fell under the bloudy and barbarous hands of that perfidious and inhumane people, contrary to all lawes of God and Men, of Nature and Nations, three hundred and forty seven men, women, and children, most by their owne weapons; and not being content with taking away life alone, they fell after againe upon the dead, making as well as they could a fresh murder, defacing, dragging, and mangling the dead carkasses into many peeces, and carrying some parts away in derision, with base and bruitish triumph. Neither yet did these Beasts spare those amongst the rest well knowne unto them, from whom they had daily received many benefits and favours, but spitefully also massacred them. One instance of it, amongst too many shall serve for all.

347. *slaine and basely murthered, some think more. He had written letters the year before, May 17. testifying the plentiful comming up of the Cotten seede, &c. attributing the ill successe of things, to the not seeking of Gods glory in converting the Natives, which he said were peaceable, & wanted but meanes (indeed to murther them, which this conceit procured) Sure binde, sure find. Pitty such an Abel should be so Kain-deceived.*

That worthy religious Gentleman, Master George Thorpe Esquire, Deputie of the Colledge lands, sometimes one of his Majesties Pensioners, and in one of the principall places of command in Virginia, did so truely and earnestly affect their conversion, and was so tender over them, that whosoever under his authority had given them but the least displeasure or discontent, hee punished them severely. He thought nothing too deare for them, and as being desirous

to binde them unto him by his many courtesies, he never denied them any thing that they asked him, insomuch that when these Savages complained unto him of the fiercenesse of our Mastives, most implacable and terrible unto them (knowing them by instinct it seemes, to be but treacherous and false-hearted friends to us, better then our selves) he to gratifie them in all things, for the winning of them by degrees, caused some of them to be killed in their presence, to the great displeasure of the owners, and would have all the rest guelt (had he not beene hindered) to make them the gentler and the milder to them. Hee was not onely too kinde and beneficiall to the common sort, but also to their King, to whom he oft resorted, and gave many presents which he knew to be highly pleasing to him. And whereas this King before dwelt onely in a Cottage, or rather a denne or Hog-stye, made with a few poles and stickes, and covered with Mats after their wilde manner: to civilize him, he first built him a faire House, according to the English fashion, in which (as before is said) he tooke such joy, especially in his Locke and Key, which hee so admired, as locking and unlocking his doore an hundred times a day, he thought no device in all the world was comparable to it.

Thus insinuating himselfe to this King for his Religious purposes, he conferred after with him oft, and intimated to him matters of our Religion; and thus farre the Pagan confessed, moved by naturall Principles, that our God was a good God, and better much then theirs, in that hee had with so many good things above them endowed us. He told him, if he would serve our God, he should be partaker of all those good things we had, and of farre greater then sense or reason ever could imagine. He won upon him, as he thought in many things, so as hee gave him faire hearing and good answer, and seemed

to be much pleased with his discourse, and in his companie. And both he and his people for the daily courtesies this good Gentleman did to one or other of them, did professe such outward love and respect unto him, as nothing could seeme more: but all was little regarded after by this Viperous brood, as the sequell shewed: for they not onely wilfully murdered him, but cruelly and felly, out of a divellish malice, did so many barbarous despights and foule scornes after to his dead corps, as are unbefitting to be heard by any civill eare. One thing I cannot omit, that when this good Gentleman, upon his fatall houre, was warned by his man (who perceived some treachery intended to them by these hell-hounds) to looke to himselfe, and withall ran away for feare of the mischiefe he strongly apprehended, and so saved his owne life; yet his Master, out of the conscience of his owne good meaning, and faire deserts ever towards them, was so voide of all suspition, and so full of confidence, that they had sooner killed him, then he could or would beleeve they meant any ill against him.

At the time of this Massacre there were three or foure of our Ships in James River, and one in the next River, and daily more to come in, as three did within foureteene daies after; one of which they endevoured to have surprised, but in vaine, as had also beene their whole attempt, had any the least fore-knowledge beene in those places where the Massacre was committed: yet were the hearts of the English ever stupid, and averted from beleeving any thing that might weaken their hopes of speedy winning the Savages to Civilitie and Religion, by kinde usage and faire conversing amongst them. Hee, and the whole Counsell writ further, That Almighty God (they doubt not) hath his great worke to doe in this Tragedy, and will thereout draw honour and glory to his great Name; safety, and a more flourishing estate to themselves, and the whole Plantation there; and the more [IV. ix. 1790.]

speedy conversion of the Children of those Savages to himselfe, since he so miraculously preserved so many of the English, whose desire to draw those people to Religion, by the carelesse neglect of their owne safeties, seemes to have beene the greatest cause of their owne ensuing destruction. Yet it pleased God to use some of them as instruments to save many of their lives, whose soules they had formerly saved, as at James Citie, and other places, and the Pinnace trading in Pamounkey River; all whose lives were saved by a converted Indian, disclosing the plot in the instant.

Converted Indian.

Manner of the Savages life.

These wilde naked Natives live not in great numbers together, but dispersed, and in small companies; and where most together, not above two hundred, and that very rare, in other places fifty or forty, or thereabouts, and many miles distant from one another, in such places among the Woods where they either found, or might easeliest make some cleared plots of ground, which they imploy wholly in setting of Corne, whereby to sustaine their lives. These small and scattered Companies (as I have said) had warning given from one another in all their habitations to meete at the day and houre appointed for our destruction, at all our severall Townes and places seated upon the River; some were directed to goe to one place, some to another, all to be done at the same day and time, which they did accordingly: some entring their Houses under colour of trucking, and so taking advantage, others drawing our men abroad upon faire pretences, and the rest suddenly falling upon those that were at their labours.

By Letters and those that returned it is certified, that besides Master George Thorpe, before mentioned, Master John Berkeley, Captaine Nathaniel Powel, and his wife (daughter of Master William Tracy, and great with Childe) and Captaine Maycocke, all Gentlemen of birth, vertue, and industry, and of the Councell

there, suffered under this their cruelty and treason. That the slaughter had beene universall, if God had not put it into the heart of an Indian belonging to one Perry, to disclose it, who living in the house of one Pace, was urged by another Indian his brother (who came the night before and lay with him) to kill Pace (so commanded by their King, as he declared) as he would kill Perry telling further, that by such an houre in the morning, a number would come from divers places to finish the Execution; who failed not at the time: Perries Indian rose out of his bed and reveales it to Pace, that used him as a Sonne: And thus the rest of the Colony that had warning given them, by this meanes was saved. Such was (God be thanked for it) the good fruit of an Infidell converted to Christianity; for though three hundred and more of ours died by many of these Pagan Infidels, yet thousands of ours were saved by the meanes of one of them alone which was made a Christian: Blessed be God for ever, whose mercy endureth for ever; Blessed be God whose mercy is above his justice, and farre above all his works; who wrought this deliverance whereby their soules escaped even as a Bird out of the snare of the Fowler.

Pace upon this discovery, securing his house, before day rowed over the River to James City (in that place neere three miles in bredth) and gave notice thereof to the Governour, by which meanes they were prevented there, and at such other Plantations as was possible for a timely intelligence to be given; for where they saw us standing upon our Guard, at the sight of a Peece they all ranne away. In other places that could have no notice, some Peeces with munition (the use whereof they know not) were there carried away, and some few Cattell also were destroyed by them. And as Fame divulgeth (not without probable grounds) their King hath since caused the most part of the Gunpowder by him surprized, to be sowne, to draw

Gunpowder sowne, practised before in Captain Smiths time.

there-from the like increase, as of his Maiz or Corne, in Harvest next. And that it is since discovered, that the last Summer Opachankano practised with a King of the Easterne shoare (no well-willer of his) to furnish him with store of poison (naturally growing in his Countrey) for our destruction, which hee absolutely refused, though he sent him great store of Beades, and other Presents to winne him thereunto: which he, with five or six of his great men, offered to be ready to justifie against him. That the true cause of this surprize was most by the instigation of the Divell (enemy to their salvation) and the daily feare that possest them, that in time wee by our growing continually upon them, would dispossesse them of this Country, as they had beene formerly of the West Indies by the Spaniard; produced this bloudy act. That never griefe and shame possessed any people more then themselves, to be thus butchered by so naked and cowardly a people, who dare not stand the presentment of a staffe in manner of a Peece, nor an uncharged Peece in the hands of a Woman, from which they flye as so many Hares; much faster then from their tormenting Divell, whom they worship for feare, though they acknowledge they love him not.

[IV. ix. 1791.]

§. IIII.

A Note of provisions necessarie for every Planter or personall Adventurer to Virginia: and accidents since the Massacre.

THe Inconveniences that have happened to some persons which have transported themselves from England to Virginia, without provisions necessary to sustaine themselves, hath greatly hindered the Progresse of that Noble Plantation: For prevention of the like disorders hereafter, that no man suffer either through ignorance or misinformation; it is thought requisite to

publish this short Declaration: wherein is contayned a particular of such necessaries, as either private Families or single persons shall have cause to furnish themselves with, for their better support at their first landing in Virginia; whereby also greater numbers may receive in part directions how to provide themselves.

Apparell for one man and so after the rate for more.

One Monmouth Cap	1.s. 10.d.
Three falling bands	1.s. 3.d.
Three shirts	7.s. 6.d.
One Waste-coate	2.s. 2.d.
One sute of Canvase	7.s. 6.d.
One sute of Frize	10.s.
One sute of Cloth	15.s.
Three paire of Irish stockins	4.s.
Foure paire of shooes	8.s. 8.
One paire of garters	10.
One doozen of points	3.d.
One paire of Canvase sheets	8.s.
Seven Ells of Canvase, to make a bed and boulster, to be filled in Virginia	8.s.
One Rug for a bed 8.s. which with the bed serving for two men, halfe is	8.s.
Five Ells coorse Canvase, to make a bed at Sea for two men, to be filled with straw 4.s.	5.s.
One coorse Rug at Sea for two men, will cost 6.s. is for one.	
	4.li.

Victuall for a whole yeere for one man and so for more after the rate.

Eight bushels of Meale	2.li.
Two bushels of Pease at 3.s.	6.s.
Two bushels of Oatmeale 4.s. 6.d.	9.s.
One gallon of Aquavitæ	2.s. 6.
One gallon of Oyle	3.s. 6.d.
Two gallons of Vineger 1.s.	2.s.
	3.li. 3s.

Armes for one man, but if halfe of your men have Armour it is sufficient, so that all have Peeces and Swords.

One Armour compleat, light	17.s.
One long Piece, five foot or five and a halfe, neere Musket bore	1.li. 2.s.
One Sword	5.s.
One Belt	1.s.
One Bandaleere	1.s. 6.d.
Twentie pound of Powder	18.s.
Sixtie pound of shot or lead, Pistoll and Goose shot	5.s.
	3.li. 9.s. 6.d.

Tooles for a Family of sixe persons, and so after the rate for more.

Five broad howes at 2.s. a piece	10.s.
Five narrow howes at 16.d. a piece	6.s. 8.d.
Two broad Axes at 3.s. 8.d. a piece	7.s. 4.d.
Five felling Axes at 18.d. a piece	7.s. 6.d.
Two Steele Hand-sawes at 16.d. a piece	2.s. 8.d.
Two two-hand-sawes at 5.s. a piece	10.s.
One whip-saw, set and filed with boxe, file and wrest	10.s.
Two Hammers 12.d. a piece	2.s.
Three shovels 18.d. a piece	4.s. 6.d.
Two Spades at 18.d. a piece	3.s.
Two Augers 6.d. a piece	1.s.
Six Chissels 6.d. a piece	3.s.
Two percers stocked 4.d. a piece	8.d.
Three gimblets 2.d. a piece	6.d.
Two hatchets 21.d. a piece	3.s. 6.d.
Two froves to cleave pale 18.d.	3.s.
Two hand-bils 20. a piece	3.s. 4.d.
One Grindlestone 4.s.	4.s.
Nailes of all sorts to the value of	2.li.
Two Pickaxes	3.s.
	6.li. 2.s. 8.d.

Houshold Implements for a Family of six persons, and so for more or lesse after the rate.

One Iron Pot	7.s.
One Kettle	6.s.
One large frying-pan	2.s. 6.d.
One Griddiron	1.s. 6.d.
Two Skillets	5.s.
One Spit	2.s.
Platters, dishes, Spoones of wood	4.s.
	1.li. 8.s.
For Sugar, Spice, and fruit and at Sea for six men	12.s. 6.d.
So the full charge of apparell victuall, armes, stooles, & houshold-stuffe, and after this rate for each person, will amount unto about the sum of	12.l. 10.s.
The passage of each man is	6.li.
The fraight of these provisions for a man, will be about halfe a Tun, which is	1.li. 10.s.
So the whole charge wil amount to about	20.l.

Nets, Hookes, Lines, and a Tent must be added if the number of people be greater, as also some Kine.

And this is the usuall proportion that the Virginia Company doe bestow upon their Tenants which they send.

Whosoever transports himselfe or any other at his owne charge unto Virginia shall for each person so transported before Midsummer 1625. have to him and his heires for ever fiftie Acres of Land upon a first, and fiftie Acres upon a second division.

[IV. ix. 1792.]

Cap. Joh. Smith. M. Porie. Naked breast concealed beast.

Sir George Yeardly intending to visit Smiths Iles, fell sicke and thereupon sent Master Porey with Estinien Moll a Frenchman to finde a convenient place to make Salt, in Namenicus King of Pawtuxunt came and shewed them his naked braest, protesting the inside to be as free ill meaning, as that from deformitie, and promising welcome if they would come into his Countrey, which they promised. After this they having conferred with

Kiptopeke King of Aquohanok, they passed Russels Iles and Onancoke, and arrived at Pawtuxunt, at Attoughcomoco the habitation of Namenacus, and Wamanato his brother, who came aboord them with a brasse Kettle bright without, within full of Oysters. He was shewed their hunting conducted forth by the younger and home by the elder: presented also with Beavers skinnes, which hee requited with such things as Wamanato said he would keepe them while hee lived, and burie them with him being dead: Namenacus his breast proved ulcerous within and treacherous, but without harme to them by reason of their circumspection: an ambush being provided in a Wood at a point where they would have had them land. Kiptokepe is the elder brother, and yeelded the moytie of his Countrie to the younger, bearing still the greater burthen in government but lesse honour, whereas on the Westerne shore, the younger beares the charge, the elder the dignitie. These are the most thriftie Savages, keeping Corne for all the yeere and having to spare, whereas others want for one halfe. They are also more civill, just reckoners, use no Black-boy-ceremonies, and in Affinitie and Consanguinitie observe a larger distance in their Marriages.

Provident Savages.

Anno 1622. the Abigail was sent, and therein Captaine Barwick with five and twentie men to build ships and Boats, and others to build the East Indie Schoole. That fatall Massacre, some thinke to have beene occasioned by Nemattanow, a Savage called usually Jacke of the Feather, in best esteeme amongst them for courage and policie; who perswading one Morgan to go with him to Pamaunke to trucke, by the way slue him two or three dayes after hee returned to Morgans house, and answered his Servants asking for their Master that hee was dead, whereupon they would have had him to Master Thorpe, but hee so moved their patience that they shot him. Hee (whom the Savages esteemed free from hurt by the English and shot free) desired before his death that they would bury him with the English, and not make it knowne that hee was

Jack of the Feather.

Cause of the Massacre.

slaine with a bullet. Opachancanough was moved with his losse so as he threatned revenge, which he could not effect but by treacherous pretence of greatest peace, after fourteene dayes by so many deaths, giving life to the following Tragedie: which you heard delivered by publike Authoritie.

This terrible blow so affrighted all that it was concluded, that all the pettie Plantations should be left, to make good a few places (some say five or six) whither for want of Boats their goods and cattell could not be so suddenly conveyed, but that much was exposed to the Savages cruell gleanings. Master Gookins at Nuports newes, having thirtie five of all sorts with him refused that order, and made good his part against the Savages. *M. Gookins.* Master Jordan at Beggars Bush gathered a few about him, and fortified himselfe in despight of the enemie. *M. Jordan.* Mistris Procter would have adventured the like, and did it for three weekes till the Officers (as some report) would no longer permit her. *Mistris Procter.* Captaine Nuse and Captaine Crawshaw are much for providence and valour commended. Waters and his wife were kept prisoners by the Nansamuds (this Edward Waters is one of those three which first stayed in Bermuda, and found the great piece of Ambergreece) whence by chance upon occasion of a Boat lost by ill weather (whose company were saved) and comming on their shoare, they being busied in their Triumphs and Dances for joy, they found opportunitie to get into a Canoa, and escaped to Kecoughtan. Captaine Nuce called his Neighbours together when he heard of the Massacre, entrenched himselfe, and mounted three Peeces of Ordnance, so that in foure dayes hee was strong enough to defend himselfe against all the Barbarian forces. Captaine Crashaw with five others fortified himselfe in despight of all the Savages, with the helpe of other Savages, and made offer to the Colonie, if they would send him a shallop with Armes, men and provision for Trade, that the next Harvest he would provide them Corne sufficient, which then (in the latter end of June)

was little to bee had in the Countrie. Captaine Maddeson is reported to have given over-hastie credit to an exiled King, which comming to Patowomeke for succour and not obtayning it, in revenge devised and slandered the Patowomekes with intent of betraying and killing the English: which credulitie produced effects of crueltie and the conceits of bloudie treacherie conceived (if others conceive not falsly) treacherie and bloud.

The last Summer 1623. they set forth a company which destroyed the Savages Corne and houses, and surprized Pamaunke chiefe Seat of Opachancanough. And the last report is that the Colonie is now in health, and that the Savages have returned seven of the English which they held prisoners, out of selfe guiltinesse and feare of revenge seeing ships still come thither, and wearie of their watchings and manifold losses and dangers. Opachankanough the author of the Massacre is said to have come to his end by meanes more sutable to his deserts, then perhaps agreeing with Christian simplicitie. A sicknesse after the Massacre fell amongst the English, by reason that from neere eightie Plantations, they were brought to fewer then eight, these distracted with a sudden remoove and distressed wants. It is thought that 1800. survived both.

[IV. ix. 1793.] His Majestie not a little moved with the losse of so many his good Subjects, and some complaints also being made of the Government, many of the Virginian Company here holding no such uniforme agreement as was meete: both shewed his gracious bountie in the gift of divers Armes out of the Towre, with further promises of his assistance; and appointed Commissioners to examine the Causes of Virginias not answering to the care and cost in so long time bestowed on her. I am no fit Relater of things ensuing, and farre unfitter Umpire in such differences. I will now speake to God rather then men: Quid enim nisia vota supersunt. My Prayers shall be to the Almightie for Virginias prosperitie; whose Dwarfish growth after so many yeeres, convulsions by

dissentions there and heere, lamentations in the complaints of both sides (a Plurisie Stich in her sides, continuing after so much bloud taken from her) weaknesse. Sinne armes after such successions of armes and forces; Tantalean starvings amidst both Magazines and fertilitie; subversions here, and selfe-eversions there (perversnesse I mention not) rather then conversions of Savages after so many learned and holy Divines sent thither; povertie, sicknesse, deaths, in so rich a Soyle, and healthfull a Climate; what should I say? I can deplore, I doe not much admire, that we have had so much in Virginia, and have so little; the promises as probable as large, and yet the premisses yeelding in the conclusion this Virginian sterilitie, and meagrenesse rather then the multiplied issue and thrift of a worthy Matron and Mother of a Family, answerable to her great Inheritance there, and Jointer from hence. But what doe I in plaints, where some perhaps will complaine of my complayning? I will expect better from God and his Majestie, and while my selfe meane-while in the better thriving of the English Colonie in Bermudas or Summer Ilands.

Chap. XVI.

English Voyages to the Summer Ilands; Henry Mays shipwracke there 1593. The first Colonie sent 1612.

IT is now time to leave the Continent and visit Bermudas, of Sir George Summers called Summer Ilands. The occasion you had before related by Master Strachie, and that some of their Company tooke up their abode there. This was not the first time that English eyes had seene those Ilands. For in the yeere 1593. Henry May had beene there; one of Captaine Lancasters Company, which had beene in the East Indies, and in returning had *Sup. cap. 6.*

put over to Trinidad, and thence to Puerto Rico and Hispaniola for refreshing, where Captaine Lancaster desired a Frenchman Monsieur de Barbotiere, to give this Henry May passage home with him. They departed from Laguna the last of November, and December the seventeenth were wracked on the North-west part of Bermuda about midnight. The Pilots making themselves at noone to be twelve leagues to the Southwards of the Iland, certified the Captaine that they were from all danger: and demanded their wine of height, which they had thought they had beene cast away by the shore, but were seven leagues off; by the helpe of their Boat, and a Raft, sixe and twentie of above fiftie were saved. I (saith May) durst not presse in, but stayed in the ship almost full of water, till the Captaine being entred the Boat, called me to him, and I entred leaving the better halfe of our company to the mercie of the Sea. We rowed all day till an houre or two before night, yet we could come on Land towing the Raft with the Boat. Having beene all day without drinke, wee sought long, and at last one digging among weeds, found fresh water being only raine water, which was all we found. It pleased God that we had saved our Carpenters tooles, and going roundly to worke, we built a Barke of some eighteene tun, for the most part with trunnels and a few nailes. For tacklings we made a Voyage to our ship and cut downe her shrouds; in stead of Pitch wee made Lime and mixed it with the Oyle of Tortoises; assoone as the Carpenters had calked, spreading it on with a sticke, which was soone dried by the heat, being in Aprill wee hasted away for feare of water failing us. We made two great chists and calked them, and stowed them on each side our maine Mast, and so put in our provisions of raine water, and thirteene living Tortoyses for our food. The Hogs were leane, and there was store of Fowle, Fish and Tortoyses. There is also good fishing for Pearles.

The eleventh of May we were cleere of the Land for

our Voyage to New-found-land, and on the twentieth fell with the Land neere to Cape Briton, and thence to the Banke of New-found-land, where a Barke of Falmouth tooke us in, wherein I had passage home, and arrived at Falmouth in August 1594. Thus much for May.

Let us now heare the Relation sent from an English Colonie planted there under the government of Master Richard Moore. This following Discourse hath beene printed, and was added to a Tractate of Master Silvester Jordan touching the wracke of Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers on the Bermudas, which beeing delivered more fully by Master Strachie sup. cap. 6. I have here omitted, and proceed to the English proceedings in those Ilands.

Being bound for the Sommer Ilands, in the Ship called the Plough, wee imbarked the eight and twentieth of Aprill 1612. So passing down to Gravesend, wee anchored at Tilbery-hope, untill the fifth of May. The wind comming faire, wee put forth and came to the Downes the sixth of May, where we staied till the ninth. And then setting forward wee had a faire and comfortable passage, and by Gods blessing found so direct a course, that on the eleventh of July in the morning, betwixt nine and ten of the clocke wee descried our hoped and desired Ilands, and in the afternoone of the same day, about three a clocke, wee arrived in a verie safe harbour neere S. Georges Iland, there wee landed all our men and women, and had beene at anchor above an houre, before wee could heare of our three men which had beene left there. As soone as wee had landed all our company, we went all to praier, and gave thankes unto the Lord for our safe arrivall; and whilest wee were at praier, wee saw our three men come rowing downe to us, the sight of whom did much rejoyce us: so they welcomming us, and wee the like to them againe, we sung a Psalme, and praised the Lord for our safe meeting, and went to supper. [IV. ix. 1794.]

Saint Georges Iland.

Three men had staied behind, and went not to Virginia, Harter, Water, and Chard.

The next day, being the Sabbath day, which wee

dedicated to God in the best manner wee could, wee abode still in the foresaid Iland, with all the rest of our company till Munday morning, being the thirteenth of July: Then we went up with our Ship and company higher into the harbour, to the place where these three men had planted themselves. They had planted Corne, great store of Wheat, Beanes, Tobacco and Mellons, with many other good things for the use of man: Besides they had wrought upon Timber, in squaring and sawing of Cedar Trees, for they intended to build a small Pinnace to carrie them into Virginia, being almost out of hope and comfort of our comming; because Cap. Davies time was to have beene with them long before we came.

Commodities of the Countrie.

Wee were no sooner come within a league of the Land, but a company of Fish, as it were, met us, and never left us till wee were come to an ankor within the harbour; and as soone as we had passed over our businesse, and all things safe and in order, with a Hooke and Line wee tooke more then our whole company was able to eate, so that there was enough to feed many more. The next day after the Sabbath, wee went with our Net and Boat, and if we would have loaded two Boats wee might; and so may you do day by day, Fishes doe so abound, and there be of these sorts, Mullets, Breames, Hog-fish, Rock-fish and Lobstars, with more sorts of other Fish which I cannot name.

Fishes.

Turkles there be of a mightie bignesse; one Turkle will serve or suffice three or foure score at a meale, especially if it be a shee Turkle, for shee will have as many Egges as will suffice fiftie or threescore at a meale: This I can assure you, they are verie good and wholsome meat, none of it bad, no not so much as the verie Guts and Maw of it, for they are exceeding fat, and make as good Tripes as your beasts bellies in England. And for Fowle we went the third day of our arrivall unto the Bird Ilands (as wee call them) and using neither Stick, nor Stone-bow, nor Gun, we tooke them up with our hands so many as wee would, that everie one of the com-

Tortoises great, and of great use.

Fowle.

pany were to have some three, some foure a piece; three for a child, boy or girle, for a man foure; then reckon what those that served some fourescore people did amount unto. But this is for certaine, if wee would have brought awaie twice so many more we might.

Some sixe daies after our comming, wee sent out for Hogges, so the company which went out brought home some: for the meate of them, I hold your Mutton of England not of so sweet and pleasant a taste. *Hogs by reason of their food there, and our mens stomackes, extraordinarily sweet.*

For the inclination of the weather, considering in what climate it lies, wee have had for the space of some fortie daies no raine, but verie coole and fresh gales of wind, yet in the day time verie hot: but wee agree with it verie well, and not a man that had lien sicke or diseased, but all likes well, and followes and imploies themselves to one businesse or other. *The weather.*

For the fruites which the Land yeelds, they bee the Mulberrie, great store, and Peares which have in them a red liquor, as the Pomgranat hath, or somewhat redder, but verie wholsome: if you eate an hundred at one time, you shall never surfet of them, if you eate some proportion of them they will bind, but if you exceed in eating of them, then are they of the contrarie operation: yet never any that hurt themselves by them, eate they never so many. It is certaine, that one man eate above a peck of them in some ten houres, and was never the worse. We have a kind of Berrie upon the Cedar Tree verie pleasant to eate; and for the Palmito Tree, the top of it is a great deale sweeter and wholsomer then any Cabedge. *Fruits. Peares not hurtfull. Cedar Berries. Palmitos.*

In some of our Ilands there growes Pepper, but not so good as our Indian Pepper: divers sorts of other good things there is, which the severall times of the yeere bring forth one after another: but the top of the Palmito Tree is in season and good all the yeere. Take a Hatchet and cut him or an Augar and bore him, and it yeelds a very pleasant liquor, much like unto your sweet Wines; it beares likewise a Berrie in bignesse of a Prune, and in taste much like. *Pepper. Palme-liquor.*

Also wee have Olives grow with us, but no great store: many other good excellent things wee have grow with us, which this short time will not permit mee to write of so largely as I might; but this is of truth, that Hogs, Turkles, Fish, and Fowle doe abound as dust of the earth: for Amber-greece and Pearle wee have not had leasure, in so few daies since our arrivall to goe looke out for the one, or to fish for the other; but the three men which were left there, have found of them both. Also they have made a great deale of Tobacco, and if some would come that have skill in making it, it would be verie commodious, both to the Merchant, and to the maker of it. And for the Silk-worme, if any were brought over, and some of skill to use them, there would bee very much good done with them, for the verie Spider in these our Ilands doth weave perfect fine Silke, both Yellow and White.

Ambergreece and Pearle.

Tobacco.

[IV. ix. 1795.]

Silk-spider.

Timber Trees.

The Timber of the Countrey consisteth of three sorts, the one is the Cedar, verie fine Timber to worke upon, of colour red, and verie sweet: the other sorts we have no name for, for there is none in the company hath seene the like in other Countries before we came, &c.

**I have omitted the rest of this discourse, as being better knowne to later Writers.*

A Copie of the Articles which Master R. More, Governour Deputie of the Sommer Ilands, propounded to the Company that were there with him to be subscribed unto, which both he and they subscribed the second of August, in his house, Anno 1612. which about the same time he sent into England, to the Worshipfull Company of the Adventurers.

WEe, who have here under subscribed our names, being by the great goodnesse of God safely arrived at the Sommer Ilands, with purpose here to inhabite, doe hereby promise and bind our selves, to the performance of the severall Articles hereafter following, and

that in the presence of the most glorious God, who hath in mercy brought us hither.

First, We doe faithfully promise, and by these presents solemnly binde our selves ever-more to worship that aforesaid only true and everliving God, who hath made the Heavens, and the Earth, the Sea, and all that therein is, and that according to those rules that are prescribed in his most holy Word, and ever to continue in that faith into the which wee were baptised in the Church of England, and to stand in defence of the same against all Atheists, Papists, Anabaptists, Brownists, and all other Heretikes and Sectaries whatsoever, dissenting from the said Word and Faith.

Secondly, because the keeping of the Sabboth day holy is, that wherein a principall part of Gods worship doth consist, and is as it were the Key of all the other parts thereof, wee do therefore in the presence aforesaid promise, That wee will set apart all our owne labours and imployments on that day, unlesse it be those that be of meere necessitie, much more vaine and unfruitfull practises, and apply our selves to the hearing of Gods Word, Prayer, and all other exercises of Religion in his Word required, to the uttermost of our power.

Thirdly, Seeing the true worship of God and holy life cannot be severed, we doe therefore promise in the presence aforesaid, That to the uttermost of our power we will live together in doing that which is just, both towards God and Man, and in particular we will forbeare to take the most holy name of God in vaine, in ordinary swearing by it, or any other thing, or by scoffing, or vaine abusing of his most holy Word, or to use cursing, or filthy speeches, or any other thing forbidden in Gods most holy Word, as also to live together without stealing one from another, or quarrelling one with another, or slandering one of another: And to avoide all things that stand not with the good estate of a Christian Church and well governed Commonwealth, as also to embrace the contrary as Justice, and

Peace, Love, and all other things that stand with the good and comfort of Societie.

Fourthly, Whereas we are here together farre remote from our native soile of England, and yet are indeed the naturall Subjects of our most Royall and gracious King James of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Wee doe therefore in the presence aforesaid, solemnly promise evermore to continue the loyall Subjects of our said Soveraigne King, his Heires and Successors, and never to revolt from him, or them, unto any other whatsoever, but evermore to acknowledge his Supreme Government.

Fifthly, Whereas wee were sent hither by divers Adventurers of the Citie of London, and other parts of the Realme of England, wee doe here in the presence aforesaid promise to use all diligence for the good of the Plantation, and not to purloyne or imbesell any of the prohibited commodities out of the generall estate, but to use all faithfulnesse, as it becommeth Christians to doe, as also to bee obedient to all such Governour or Governours, or their Deputie or Deputies, as are, or shall be by them sent to governe us; As also to yeeld all reverence towardes the Ministery or Ministers of the Gospel, sent, or to be sent.

Sixtly and lastly, Wee doe here in presence aforesaid promise, the Lord assisting us, that if at any time hereafter any forrain power shall attempt to put us out of this our lawful possession, not cowardly to yeeld up the same, but manfully to fight as true Englishmen, for the defence of the Common-wealth we live in, and Gospel wee professe, and that whiles we have breath wee will not yeeld to any, that shall invade us upon any conditions whatsoever.

I had thought hitherto to have added a Letter of M. Hughes, written from thence, Dec: 21. 1614. and printed. But our latter intelligence, being more ample, hath caused mee to omit him and others; Yea all things in some, and some things in all. M. Norwood hath

beene a diligent Surveyor of the place and accidents, and hath given a Map of the one (common to be sold) and a briefe relation of the other. But because his History of the Creatures is briefe, I have borrowed out of Captaine Smith, what he had borrowed of Capt. Butler, and others to give the Reader more full satisfaction in that kind. [IV. ix. 1796.]

Chap. XVII.

Relations of Summer Ilands, taken out of M. Richard Norwood, his Map and Notes added thereto, printed 1622. The History of the Creatures growing or living therein, being inlarged out of Capt. Smiths written Relations.

SIr Thomas Gates, and Sir George Summers, having staied in Bermuda nine moneths, with helpe of such things as they saved with the Sea-venture, and of such as they found in the Countrey, had built of Cedar, and rigged fit for the Sea, two Vessels, a Ship and a Pinnace, and upon the tenth of May, 1610. departed toward Virginia, leaving onely two men behind them, and carrying them store of provision for the reliefe of the people there. Upon the foure and twentieth of May, they arrived safely there, and shortly after some of them returned to the Sommer Ilands againe for a further supply, in the same Ship which they had formerly built there; where Sir George Sommers dying, his men did not according to his last charge given unto them, returne to Virginia; but framed their course for England, leaving behind them three men, that staied voluntarily, who shortly after found in Somerset Iland, which is a part of Sandys Tribe, a verie great treasure in Ambergreece, to the valew of nine or ten thousand pound sterling: there hath also been found since divers times of the best sort. *Ambergreece.*

This new discovery of the Sommer Ilands, being thus made knowne in England, to the Virginian Company, by these men which returned, they sold it to some hundred and twentie persons of the same Company, who obtained a Charter from his Majestie, and so hold it. And toward the latter end of Aprill, 1612. sent thither a Ship, called the Plough, with some sixtie persons to inhabite, appointing Governour one Master Richard Moore, a man ingenuous and carefull, who since dyed in Sir Walter Rawlyes last voyage to Guiana, (a place as appeareth by our Moderne Geographers, very rich and spatious.) But, as I say, he arrived there about the beginning of July, and found the foresaid three men that staied voluntarily, very well. Master Moore spent the three yeeres of his government, for the most part in fortifying the Countrey, and trayning the people in Martiall exercises, which custome hath beene continued by his successours: hee built some nine or tenne Forts, placing Ordnance and Munition in them. In his time, the Lord sent upon the Countrey, a very grievous scourge and punishment, threatning the utter ruine and desolation of it: That it came from God I need not strive to prove, especially considering it was generally so acknowledged by us at that time: The causes and occasions of it, I need not name, being very well knowne to us all that then lived there, which were about sixe hundred persons, thought shortly after much diminished. I will onely shew the thing it selfe, which was a wonderfull annoyance, by silly Rats: These Rats comming at the first out of a Ship, few in number, increased in the space of two yeeres, or lesse, so exceedingly, that they filled not onely those places where they were first landed: But swimming from place to place, spread themselves into all parts of the Countrey. Insomuch, that there was no Iland, though severed by the Sea from all other Lands, and many miles distant from the Iles where the Rats had their originall, but was pestered with them. They had their Nests almost in every Tree,

Rat-plague. How vaine a thing is man, whose best wits and industry are triumphed over by silly Rats? Great God, give us grace to feare thee, that we may feare nothing else: else shall we feare with Pharao, Frogs, Lice, Flies, Grashopper; or with others, Fleas, Sparrowes, &c. Yea a few Rats, in despite of Cats, Dogs, Traps, poisons, shall starve us.

and in all places their Burrowes in the ground (like Conies) to harbour in. They spared not the fruits of Plants and Trees, neither the Plants themselves, but eate them up. When wee had set our Corne, they would commonly come by troupes the night following, or so soone as it began to grow, and digge it up againe. If by diligent watching any of it were preserved till it came to earing, it should then very hardly scape them. Yea, it was a difficult matter after wee had it in our houses, to save it from them, for they became noysome even to the persons of men. Wee used all diligence for the destroying of them, nourishing many Cats, wilde and tame, for that purpose, wee used Rats-bane, and many times set fire on the Woods, so as the fire might run halfe a mile or more before it were extinct: Every man in the Countrey was enjoyned to set twelve Traps, and some of their owne accord set neere a hundred, which they visited twice or thrice in a night. Wee trayned up our Dogs to hunt them, wherein they grew so expert, that a good Dog in two or three houres space, would kill fortie or fiftie Rats, and other meanes we used to destroy them, but could not prevaile, finding them still to increase against us.

And this was the principall cause of that great distresse, whereunto wee were driven in the first planting of the Countrey, for these, devouring the fruits of the earth, kept us destitute of bread a yeere or two, so that, when wee had it afterwards againe, wee were so weaned from it, that wee should easily neglect and forget to eate it with our meat. We were also destitute at that time of Boats, and other provision for fishing. And moreover, Master Moore had received warning from England, that hee should expect the Spaniard that yeere, yet they came not, but with two ships, attempting to come in, and having their Boat before them to sound the way, were shot at by the said Master Moore from Kings Castle, and as we supposed one of them stricken through, whereupon they presently departed. But (as I say) this expectation [IV. ix. 1797.]

of them caused us (though in great necessitie) to hasten the fortifications of the Countrey. All these joyntly (but principally the Rats) were the causes of our distresse: for being destitute of food, many dyed, and wee all became very feeble and weake, whereof some being so, would not; others could not stir abroad to seeke reliefe, but dyed in their houses: such as went abroad were subject, through weaknesse, to bee suddenly surprized with a *The Feage.* disease we called the Feages, which was neither paine nor sicknesse, but as it were the highest degree of weaknesse, depriving us of power and abilitie for the execution of any bodily exercise, whether it were working, walking, or what else. Being thus taken, if there were any in company that could minister any reliefe, they would straightwayes recover, otherwise they dyed there: Yet many after a little rest would be able to walke again, and then if they found any succour were saved.

About this time, or immediately before, came thither a company of Ravens, which continued with us all the time of this mortalitie, and then departed. There were not before that time, nor since (so far as I heare) any more of them seene there. And this, with some other reasons of more moment, moved many to thinke that there was some other Ilands neere the Sommer Ilands, betweene Virginia, and it; and M. Moore (in his time, with some other of us) went forth in a Boat so far as then wee could conveniently, of purpose to discover it: Since then, it hath beene endeavoured by other, and is yet (as I heare) to be further attempted. And howsoever I am perswaded (for certaine causes which I cannot here relate) there is no such thing; Yet would I not disanimate any from this enterprise, for if they find any, their labours will be well recompenced; and though they find none, yet might they discover those parts so well, that the passage to and from Virginia would be more safe and easie.

But to returne from whence wee have digressed: The extremitie of our distresse began to abate a little

before M. Moores time of government was expired, partly by supplies out of England, of victuall and provision for fishing, and partly by that rest and libertie we then obtained, the Countrey being fortified. Yet the Rats encreased and continued almost to the end of Captaine Tuckers time, although hee was provident aud industrious to destroy them, but toward the end of his time it pleased God (by what meanes it is not wel known) to take them away, insomuch that the wilde Cats and many Dogs which lived on them were famished, and many of them leaving the Woods, came downe to the houses, and to such places where they use to garbish their Fish, and became tame. Some have attributed this destruction of them to the encrease of wild Cats, but that's not likely they should be so suddenly encreased rather at that time, then in the foure yeeres before. And the chiefe occasion of this supposition was, because they saw such companies of them leave the Woods, and shew themselves for want of food. Others have supposed it to come to passe by the coolnesse of the weather, which notwithstanding is never so great there, as with us in March, not scarce as it is in April, except it be in the wind; besides the Rats wanted not feathers of young Birds and Chickens which they daily killed, and of Palmeto Mosse (as wee call it) to build themselves warme nests out of the wind, as usually they did. Neither doth it appeare that the cold was so mortall to them, seeing they would ordinarily swim from place to place, and be very fat even in the midst of Winter. It remaineth then, that as we know God doth sometimes effect his will without subordinate and secondary causes, and sometimes against them: So wee need not doubt, but that in the speedy encrease and spreading of these Vermine; as also, in the preservation of so many of us by such weake meanes as we then enjoyed, and especially in the sudden removall of this great annoyance, there was joyned with, and besides, the ordinary and manifest meanes, a more immediate and secret worke of God.

Now to proceed. M. Moores time of government
Cap. Tucker. being expired, Capt. Tucker succeeded, arriving there about mid-May, 1616. who likewise governed (according to the custome) three yeeres; which time hee spent, for the most part, in husbandring the Countrey, planting and nourishing all such things as were found fit either for trade, or for the sustentation and use of the Inhabitants, wherein hee travelled with much diligence and good successe, sending to some parts of the Indies for Plants and Fruits: hee also added to the Fortifications, and made some Inclosures. In his time, viz. in the yeere 1617. was sent a Ship and provision, with men of skill,
Whales. for the killing of Whales; but they arrived there too late to wit, about the midst of April, so that before they could make ready their Shallops, and fit themselves, the principall season for Whale-fishing was past: For the Whale come thither in January, and depart againe toward the latter end of May: Yet they strook some, but found them so lively, swift, & fierce after they were stricken, that they could take none. They yeeld great store of Oyle, as appeared by one that drave to shoare on Sommerset Iland, in Sandys Tribe: and by another that we found not far from thence dead upon a Rocke.

[IV. ix. 1798.] I also received by Captaine Tucker, directions from the Adventurers to divide the Countrey, and to assigne to
Shares. each Adventurer his shares or portion of Land: and withall, a description, with notes touching the manner how they would have it done, as they had formerly determined by Lot. Which thing I did with all faithfulnesse and diligence, the manner of it doth above appeare, and is more largely manifested in a Booke of the Survey of the Country, exhibited to the Right Honorable his Majesties Counsell, and the Court of Adventurers for these parts. And then began this, which was before as it were an unsetled and confused Chaos (I meane as touching a Plantation, for considered onely as a Regiment it was otherwise) to receive a convenient disposition, forme, and order, and to become indeed a Plantation;

for though the Countrey was small, yet they could not have beene conveniently disposed and well settled, without a true description and survey made of it; and againe every man being settled where hee might constantly abide, they knew their businesse, and fitted their houshold accordingly. They built for themselves and their Families, not Tents or Cabins, but more substantiall houses: they cleered their grounds, and planted not onely such things as would yeeld them their fruits in a yeere, or halfe a yeere: but all such too, as would affoord them profit after certaine yeeres, &c. So that in short time after, even before expiration of Captaine Tuckers government, the Country began to aspire and neerely to approch unto that happinesse and prosperity wherein now it flourisheth. For may it not justly be accounted happinesse and prosperitie, for men to live where they enjoy the meanes of true Religion and Salvation, to wit, the sincere Ministerie of the Word and Sacraments? where the government is good without rigour and oppression, the place healthfull and temperate? where they are freed from all extreme care and toyle? where they have food in abundance, and very good, with other things needfull to the body? and where they have Commodities meete for Trade, by which they better advance their estates? all which and more is largely verified in the present estate of that Colonie, whatsoever some maliciously minded, or to evill ends suborned, may say to the contrary, so that there may seeme to bee a restauration of that Golden Age so much spoken of.

The Governour now there resident, is one Captaine Butler, for Captaine Tucker departing thence in December 1618. left in his place Captaine Kendall (who also was one that supplied the same place in the interim, betweene Master Moores time and Captaine Tuckers, and hath spent some nine or ten yeeres in the Countrey. But in the yeere 1619. about Midsummer, the Adventurers sent thither as Governour for three yeeres

(according to the custome) the said Captaine Butler, and foure ships, with some five hundred persons, there beeing at that time in the Countrey onely five hundred more: for by the space of foure yeeres, to wit, during the latter part of Master Moores government, and all the time of Captaine Tuckers, they had sent few thither, being almost hopelesse of the place, by reason of the Rats: But since there have beene sent many companies more then have come to my knowledge. Insomuch that I understand the Countrey is now almost fully planted and inhabited.

Thus have I briefly related (so farre forth as hath come to my knowledge and remembrance) every thing of most note and importance that hath befallen in the first Discoverie and planting of these Ilands, till this present. I have laboured to contract my selfe, yet have exceeded my entended limits. Now I must speake something of the Countrey it selfe: Which consisteth of a company of small Ilands, situate and formed as above appeareth. It lyeth in the Westerne Ocean, in that part of the World lately discovered, and called America, or the New World, vulgarly, the West Indies: It hath Latitude, or Elevation (as is abovesaid) 32. degrees 25. minutes, which is almost the same with the Maderaes, or rather more Southward.

The Countrey is round about environed with Rockes; which to the Northward, Westward, and Southward, extend farther then hath beene yet discovered: By reason of these Rockes the Countrey is very strong: For there is onely two places (and scarce two, except to such as know them well) where shipping may safely come in: and those places are very well fortified: but within is roome to entertaine a Royall Fleet. The Rockes in most places appeare at a low water: neither are they much covered at a high water; For it ebbes and flowes there, not above five foot. The shoare it selfe (for the most part) is a Rocke: so hardned by the Sunne, Wind, and Sea, that it is not apt to be worne by the Waves;

whose violence is also broken by the Rocks, before they come at the shoare. The Mould is of divers colours; neither Clay, nor Sand, but a meane betweene. The Red, which resembleth Clay is worst; the whitish, resembling Sand, and the blackish, Clay, is good: the Browne, betweene them both (which they call white, because there is mingled with it, as it were a white Marle) is best. Under the Mould two or three foote deepe, and sometimes lesse, is a kind of white, hard substance, which they call the Rocke: the Trees usually fasten their Roots in it: and draw their nourishment from it: Neither is it indeed Rocke or Stone, nor so hard, though for the most part harder then Chalke; not so white, but Pumice-like and Spongie, easily receiving and contayning much water: I have seene, in some places, Clay found under it. It seemes to be engendred of the Raine water, drayning through the earth, and drawing with it of his substance, unto a certaine depth where it congeales. The hardest kind of it (which is commonly under the red ground) is not so Spongie, nor retaynes much water; but lyeth [IV. ix. in the ground in Quarries, as it were thicke Slates one upon another: and there is some chinkes or crevises betwixt one lare and another, through which the water hath passage: so that in such places there is scarce found any fresh water. For all, or the most part of their fresh water (whereof they have good store) commeth out of the Sea; drayning through the Sand, or through the foresaid substance, which they call the Rocke, and leaving his Salt behind it becomes fresh: Sometimes we digged Welles of *Wels.* fresh water, within foure or five paces of the Sea-side; sometimes further off. The most part of them would ebbe and flow, as the Sea did, and be levell or little higher then the Superficies of the Sea. 1799.]

The Aire is most commonly cleere, very temperate, *The Aire.* moist, with a moderate heate, very healthfull, and apt for the Generation and nourishing of all things; so that there is scarce any thing transported from hence thither,

but it yeelds a farre greater encrease; and if it be any living thing, becomes fatter and better liking, then here. By this meanes the Countrey was so replenished with Hennes and Turkeyes, within the space of three or foure yeeres, that beeing neglected, many of them forsooke the Houses, and became wilde, and so lived in great abundance. The like encrease there is of Hogges and other Cattle, according to their kinds. There seemes to be a continuall Spring, which is the cause that some few things come not to that maturitie and perfection, as were requisite. And though the Trees doe shed their leaves, yet are they alwayes full of greene.

Their Corne is the same which they use almost in all parts of the West Indies, to wit, Maiz: which, to such as are used to it, is more heartie and nourishing then our English Wheate, and yeelds a farre greater increase, as a pound, sometimes, of one or two graines. Of this Corne, and divers other things, without either plowing or digging the ground, they have two Harvests every yeere: for they set about March, which they gather in July; and againe in August, which is ripe in December: And little slips of Figge trees, and Vines, doe usually beare fruit within lesse then a yeere after they are planted, sometimes in halfe a yeere. The like fertilitie it hath in other things.

Temperature of the Countrey.

There is scarce at any time to be perceived either Frost or Snow, nor any extreme heate; for there is almost alwayes some wind stirring, which cleereth and cooleth the Aire. Their Summers and Winters observe the same times with ours, but their longest dayes and nights are shorter then ours in England, by two houres and almost a halfe: as also their shortest dayes and nights are as much longer then ours: for their longest dayes and nights are about fourteene houres, and their shortest ten. When it is Noone with us, it is Morning with them; and when it is about five of the clocke in the Evening with us, it is high-noone with them: so that whilest the Sun declines with us, it riseth with them, as also it doth in Virginia. It is apt to Thunder and Lightning all the yeere, oft-

times more terrible then in England; but no man, or other living creature have I knowne hurt by it. There is no venemous creature in the Countrey: the yellow Spider which is there, making her Webbe as it were of Silke, and bringing forth her young (as the Alchimists their stone) of Egges like little Balles of Quick-silver, is not perceived to bee any whit venemous. Yet there is a Plant (that climbeth Trees like Ivie, the leafe also of the same colour, but in shape like the Vine) that is somewhat venemous, but of no great force. *Spiders.*

There is great store and varietie of Fish, and so good as these part of the World affoords not the like; which being for the most part unknowne to us, each man gave them names as they best liked: as one kind they called Rocke-fish, another Groopers, others Porgie-fish, Hog-fish, Angle-fish, Cavallies, Yellow-tayles, Spanish Makerell, Mullets, Breame, Connie-fish, Morrayes, Sting-rayes, Flying-fish, &c. The like they did by the Fowle, as Cohooes, Sand-birds, Herons, Ducke and Teale, Pemblicoes, Castle-boobies, Hawkes, &c.

The Countrey when we first beganne the Plantation, was all over-growne with Woods and Plants of severall kinds: and to such kinds as were unknowne to us (which were the most part) we also gave names; such as were knowne retayning their olde names: as Cedars, Palmetoes, Black-wood, White-wood, Yellow-wood, Mulberie-trees, Stopper-trees, Lawrell and Olive-trees, Mangrowes, Pepper-trees, Yellow-bery-weed, Red-weed: These, and many others, wee found naturally growing in the Countrey. But since it hath beene inhabited, there hath beene brought thither, as well from the Indies as from other parts of the World, sundry other Plants, as Vines of severall kinds, Sugar-canes, Figge-trees, Apple-trees, Oranges, Lemmons, Pomegranets, Plantanes, Pines, Parsnips, Raddishes, Artichokes, Potatoes, Cassavi, Indico, and many other: Insomuch that it is now become as it were some spacious Garden or Nourcerie of many pleasant and profitable things.

Now if I should proceed to a more speciall Narration, and speake of all these Plants, Birds, Fishes, and other remarkable things particularly: I could not but bee much larger then were any wayes expedient in this place. Besides, I have long since understood, that Captaine Butler (the Governour there resident) hath undertaken to write of these and the like things, a peculiar Treatise. This therefore that is spoken touching the nature of the Countrey in generall, shall suffice. Onely to make choice of two particulars, whereof I will speake, not so largely as the things require; but so farre forth as will be meet and convenient in this place.

[IV. ix. 1800.] The first shall bee the Tortoyse, which they call a Turtle: which having some affinitie and resemblance with Fishes, Beasts, and Fowles, shall serve instead of a Historie of them all. The other shall be that which they call the prickled Peare-tree: which participating in nature, and resembling in some things, herbs and in other Trees; shall likewise serve in stead of the Naturall Historie of them both.

And first of the Turckle, not regarding (for brevities sake) the large Discourses of others; I will onely write what I have seene and knowne my selfe. They are in the shape of their bodie like a Crab-fish; and have foure finnes: they are as great as three or foure men can carrie: the upper part of them is covered with a great shell, which wee call a Galley-patch, weighing (as I take it) halfe a hundred weight: the flesh that cleaveth to the in-side of this being rosted against the fire, is excellent meate: almost like the Marrow of Beefe: but the shell it selfe harder then Horne: shee hath also a shell on her belly, not so hard, but being boyled it becommeth soft, like the sinewes or gristle of Beefe; and good meate. These live in the Sea, spending the Spring time, and part of the Summer about these Ilands: but the residue of the yeere, we know not where. They are like to Fowle in respect of the smallnesse and fashion of their heads and neckes: which are wrinkled like a Turkeyes, but white, and not so

sharpe billed. They also breed their young of Egges which they lay. They resemble Beasts, in that their flesh is like Veale, but more hard and solid; and they feed alwayes upon grasse growing at the bottome of the water; neither can they abide any longer under water, then they hold their breath; which the old ones will doe long: but the young ones being chased to and fro, cannot continue two minutes with out comming up to breathe. Shortly after their comming in, the Male and Female couple, which wee call cooting; this they continue some three dayes together, during which time, they will scarce separate though a Boat come to them, nor hardly when they are smitten. Not long after, the Shee-Turckle comes up by night upon some Sandie Bay; and further up then the water useth to flow, shee digges a hole with her finne in the Sand, some two foote deepe; and there comming up severall nights, layes her Egges, some halfe a bushell (which are about the bignesse of a Hennes Egge, and round as a Ball) and each time covers them with Sand very curiously; so that a man shall hardly finde the place. These Egges (as it seemes) are afterwards hatched by heate of the Sunne, and then by the Providence of God (the meanes are yet unknowne to us) are brought out of the earth, for wee could never perceive that shee returnes any more to them, and yet in likelihood they remaine not long in the Earth after they are hatched, because (as I have before said) they cannot live without breathing. We sometimes see of the young ones no bigger then a mans hand, which some fish will devoure. They grow slowly, and seeme to have a very long life, they will sleepe on the top of the water, and were wont to sleepe often on the Land, till the Countrie was peopled; they will also live out of the water some three weekes, and that without meate, but mourne and pine away; they are very wittie. Being on the Land turned upon their backes, they can no more without some helpe or advantage recover themselves; by which meanes when they come on shoare to lay their Egges, they are easily taken,

as also they are when they are cooting. But otherwise wee take them for the most part by night, making a great light in a Boate, to which they will sometimes swimme, and seldome shunne: so that a man standing readie with a staffe in his hand, which hath at one end a socket, wherein is an Iron lesse than a mans finger, foure-square and sharpe, with a line fastned to it, hee striking this Iron into the upper shell of the Turckle, it stickes so fast, that after shee hath a little tired her selfe by swimming too and fro, shee is taken by it. They will live, the head being cut off, foure and twentie houres; so that if you cut the flesh with a Knife, or touch it, it will tremble and shrinke away. There is no meate will keepe longer either fresh or salt.

But leaving these, we will now come to speake of the Prickled Peares, which are a fruit growing in these Ilands, in such places as are scarce fit for any thing else, namely, upon Rockes and Cliffes, and commonly by the Sea side, as if the salt-water did somewhat helpe to the generation and nourishing of them. The tree seemes to grow certaine yeeres before it beares fruit, and then to continue bearing, very many yeeres, having almost all the yeere long fruit upon it. And although we call this a Tree, yet hath it scarce any bodie or branches, but consisteth in a manner wholly of leaves and fruit, soft and brittle.

But we will give you a larger Historie of the Creatures from Captaine Smith, in the next Chapter.

Chap. XVIII. [IV. ix. 1801.]

Extracts out of Captaine John Smiths Historie of Bermudas, or Summer Ilands; touching the English Acts and Occurrents there from the beginning of the Plantation.

SOme one hundred and twentie of the Virginian Company bought that Title which the Company might seeme to have to Bermuda, and obtayned Letters Patents of his Majestie. Sir Thomas Smith was elected Treasurer, and Master Richard Moore sent thither with the first Colonie, which found the three men well, Carter, Chard, and Waters, which had found store of Ambergrice, which was the occasion of great stirres betwixt Moore and Kendall, (who was imprisoned) Chard (who was condemned and on the Ladder to be hanged, but reprived, and all Moores time detayned prisoner) and Captaine Davies, who had almost kindled a mutinie till better thoughts did better him. Sic vos non vobis, was the conclusion of that Treasure to the finders, howsoever Davies and Kendall are said to have licked their fingers well. For the naturall Historie thereof I have added thus much out of him to that which before hath beene delivered by others. *Inveniuntur opes irrit amenta malorum.*

The most troublesome to these Ilands are the Winds and Wormes, specially in the Spring and Autumne, rather to awaken industrie then to cause despaire.

The Musketas or Flies are very busie, with a certaine Indian bugge called by the Spaniards, a Cacaroatch, which creeping into Chists by their ill sented dung defile all, besides their eating. Little Ants are in Summer so troublesome that they are forced to dry their figs on high frames, annointing the feet with Tarre which stay their passage that else would spoile all. Wormes in the earth are noisome to their Corne *Flies.* *Ants.* *Wormes.*

and Tobacco, causing them great labour every morning to destroy them; which else would destroy all. Large *Lizards.* Lizards have been there, now destroyed by the Cats. *Spiders.* Spiders are large but beautifully coloured, as if they were adorned with Silver, Gold, and Pearle: their Webs in Summer woven from Tree to Tree, a perfect raw Silke in substance and colour, so strong that Birds like Snites bigger then Black-birds, are snared in their Nets.

Fowles. There are grey and white Hearne, grey and greene Plover, wild Ducks, and Mallards, Coots, Red-shankes, Sea-wigeons, grey Bitternes, Cormorants, numbers of small Birds, like Sparrowes and Robbins, which have lately beene destroyed by the Wild Cats, very many Wood-peckers, Crowes, which since the Plantation are killed, and seldome seene except in places least inhabited, where they are observed to take their flight about Sun-set, directing their course toward the North-west, which causeth the conjecture of other Ilands. (Yea, the Spaniards say this is not true Bermuda, &c.) sometimes also are seene Falcons, Jarfalcons, Osprayes, a Bird like a Hobby, holden but a passenger.

The Cohow is so termed of his voice; a night Bird all day hid in the Rockes. The Egge-bird on the first day of May constantly observed to come, they begin to lay Egs as big almost as Hens Egges; so continuing till Mid-summer, so tame you must thrust them off: then permitted to breed (growing weake) and their young are excellent meate. The Egges of those are white; of the Cohowes speckled, as bigge as Hennes: strict inhibition was made for their sparing beeing almost destroyed.

The Tropiks Bird hath his name of the places where he is most seene. Another Bird of her Cry is called Pemblico, seldome seene by day, an unwelcome Prophet of Tempests by her clamorous crying. Owles are now gone, Pigeons prosper not. Tame Duckes and Geese are there.

Now for Plants there growing, the most remarkeable are, the Poyson-weed, which is much in our English Ivie, with the touch thereof causing rednesse, itching and blisters, all which after a while passe away of themselves without further hurt.

The Red-reed is a tall Plant, whose stalke is covered with a red rind; the Roote steeped, or a small quantitie of the juyce drunke alone procureth a forceable Vomit, generally used and effectual against distempers of the stomacke.

A kind of Wood-bind is common neere the Sea running on Trees like a Vine, the fruit somewhat like a Beane but flatter, which eaten any way causeth to purge vehemently, yet without further harme.

Another small Tree causeth costivenesse. There is also a Plant like a Bramble, bearing a long yellow fruit with a hard shell, and within a hard Berrie which stamped and taken inwardly, purgeth gently.

Red-Pepper is a fruit like our Barberies, which beaten, or bruized with the Teeth, sets all the mouth on a heat, for the time terrible; but swallowed whole have the same operation that blacke Pepper.

The Sea-feather is a Plant growing on the Rocks in the bottome of the Sea in forme of a Vine-leafe, but farre more spread with veines of a palish red, strangely interlaced and weaved into each other: the vertue unknowne.

There are besides fruits thither carried which thrive and multiply, White, Red, Yellow Potatoes, Sugar-canes, Indicoes, Parsnips, exceeding large Radishes, Cassavi (the American root for bread) the Indian Pompeon, the water Melon, the Muske Melon, the most delicate Pine-apple, Plantans, and Papawes; the English Artichoke, Pease, &c. [IV. ix. 1802.]

Moores Forts.

Master Moore applied himselfe to fortifying and to traine his men: hee laid the foundation of eight or nine Forts, called the Kings Castle, Charles Fort, Pembrokes Fort, Smiths Fort, Gates Fort, Warwickes

Castle, Saint Katherines Fort, &c. mounting therein all such Ordnance as he had. Being busied in these and other necessaries, which held the men hard at worke, *Master Keath.* Master Keath the Minister, a Scot, taxed him in the Pulpit for grinding the faces of the poore, oppressing his Christian brethern with Pharoos taxes; for which being convented, and by the generality contraried, he fell on his knees and asked pardon, which was easily with good admonition granted. Two other male-contents were condemned to be hanged, one of which for feare fell into a dead palsie, the other was freed, and after proved a good labourer. He got two peeces of Ordnance out of the Sea Venture (Sir George *Church built.* Summers wracke) framed a Church of Timber, which was blowne downe and reedified, and another built in a closer place with Palmito leaves. Before the yeare *Supplies sent An.* 1613. expired, an Adviso with thirtie passengers were sent, to prepare for Spaniards; which made them fall so hard to worke, that many fell sicke. The Martha followed with sixtie passengers, and in it Master *M. Barklie.* George Barklie, who tooke good notice of those Ilands. The Elizabeth was sent the second time with fortie passengers. These carried the first Potatos, which being all lost but two castaway rootes have yeelded *Increase of Potatos.* increase there to admiration, and are great reliefe to the Inhabitants.

Spanish Ships. Two Spanish Ships were seene soone after this Ship was gone, to sound with their Boate, attempting to come in; but from the Kings Castle Master Moore made two shot, which caused them to depart, to the joy of the Plantation, which then had but three quarters of a barrell of Powder, and but one shot more: the Powder also by carelesnesse tumbled under the Mussels of the two Peeces which were discharged, and yet not touched with fire. The like mercifull *Escapes from dangers.* providence appeared in certaine cartrages of Paper filled with Powder; a negligent fellow leaving his Match burning upon one of them all the while they

were at Prayer, so that the cole touched the Paper and fired it not.

A worse thing happened by a carvell of Meale, which Daniel Elfred brought thither, so stored with Rats, that had neere ruined all the Plantation. Two yeeres after came in the Blessing with one hundred passengers, and the Starre with one hundred and eightie, and soone after the Margaret, and two Frigats with one hundred and sixtie. Master Barkley also came to divide the Countrie into Tribes, and the Tribes into shares; but Moore seeing his share and the Colonies to be none, gave him so cold entertainment, that he returned as he came.

Rats.

M. Barklies second coming.

This bred Moore more dislike in England, and his minding fortification so much, with neglect of Corne bred a famin; that attended with diseases specially one called the Feagues, which without sense of paine, swallowed up all their strength at once, whereof without succour they died; some by foode and rest recovered. The Ravens continued this mortality and then departed. William Millinton was drawne into the Sea by a Fish, and never seen more. The Famine gave a supersedeas to the workes, and Moore sent them to seeke reliefe. At Coupers Ile with a contrary extremity of the abundance of Cahows and Fish, many surfeited and died. Some killed the Cattell, and one stole away to the Woods and there franked himselfe, feeding on land Crabbes and Wilkes. For fishing, the Smith was faine to make Hookes of Swords, and Lines of old Ropes, till a Frigat being sent with advice into England, the Welcome was sent with provision. Master Moore returned in this Ship, and left the Government to a Councell of sixe, which should succeede each other monethly; viz. Captaine Miles Kendall, Captaine John Mansfield, Thomas Knight, Charles Caldicot, Edward Waters, and Christopher Carter, with twelve Assistants. Moore arriving here, after much quarrell, obtained eight

1614.

Famine and sicknesse.

Ravens.

Contrary extreme.

Government by a Counsell.

shares of Land. Hee died after in Sir Walter Raleighs Guiana voyage. He was a man very pragmaticall, and had before undertaken much in Foulenesse for Rapes seede, &c. A man fitter for such a Plantation as this in the beginning was, then some silken Citizen, or stalking Gentleman, or talking Traveller, or sowre Humorist, or grim Martialist might haply have proved.

Caldicots lot. Caldicots Lot was first, whose moneth being ended, with Knight and Waters in a small Frigot he went to Virginia, Mansfield succeeded in the new triumvirate, and a plot not to surrender the Government to such as from England should be appointed, was disappointed: Master Hughes was imprisoned, and soone set at liberty, but Master Keath his Symmystes fell to strange disputes, and Hughes was againe convented, and by the Jury acquitted. Mansfields moneth being passed in braules, the two next were quiet; yet those contestings after revived. The Edwin arrived with good supplies. Divers Boates were lost at Sea about this time.

M. Keath and M. Hughes.

Strange accident. But one memorable accident was this: In March, a season most tempestuous, on a faire Friday morning, seven men went in a Boate of two or three tuns to fish, some of them fasting, neither had they any provision in the Boat with them but a few Palmeto berries; some foure leagues from shoare a tempest tooke them, and carried them quite out of sight of land; their strength being spent, the strength also of the tempest abated on sunday, and a calme followed. Too weake for Oares they lay adrift that night: the next morning Andrew Hillyard (the rest not able to helpe themselves) spred the saile: On tuesday one died, on wednesday three, which were cast overboord; on thursday night the sixth, whom he was not able to turne over, but stripped him, ripped his belly with his Knife, threw his bowels into the Sea, spred his body abroad, tilted open with a sticke, and so let it lye as a Cesterne to receive

[IV. ix. 1803.]

Andrew Hilliards adventures.

some luckie raine water, which God sent presently after, so that in a small shower he recovered about foure spoonefuls of raine to his unspeakable refreshment. He also preserved neere halfe a pint of blood in a shooe, which hee did sparingly drinke to moisten his mouth. Two dayes he fed on his flesh to the quantity of a pound: the eleventh day after his losse of Land, two flying Fishes fell into his Boate, whose warme jucie bloud he sucked, to his great comfort, and within an houre after, with greater comfort espied land, which within foure houres he attained on a Rocke neere Port Royall, where his Boate was split presently in peeces, and he made shift to climbe so steepe a Rocke by night, as would have troubled the strongest man in the Ile to have done by day. He discerned in the morning where he was, and without other refreshing then water (which he tooke temperately, or might else have drunk his last) he got in halfe a day to a friends house. He was living Anno 1622.

M. Tucker.

Some treasure in Dollers, to the value of twentie pounds was found, the remainder of some Wrack. The Company sent M. Daniel Tucker, to be Governour; hee set saile in the George, accompanied with the Edwin: some preparation was made to resist, but he at last was received and acknowledged in May, 1616. Somewhat hee had to doe to bring them to their workes, which yet he effected; their day worke till nine in the morning, and then staying till three in the afternoone, they began againe continuing till sun-set. Besides meat, drinke, and clothes, they had for a time a certaine kind of brasse Money, with a Hog on the one side, in memory of the Hogs there found at first landing. Hee by Master Richard Norwoods helpe, laid out the eight Tribes in the Mayne, which were to consist of fiftie shares to a Tribe, each share twentie five Acres. He began to plant some of the Colony on speciall shares, and appointed Bailiffes to each Tribe. Hee held a generall Assise in his second moneth at Saint Georges, where for sedition

1616.

Tribes laid out.

Assises.

John Wood a Frenchman was hanged. He sent the Edwin to Trade with the Natives of the West Indies for Cattel, Corne, Plants, which had it been continued, might happily have bin more beneficiall to the Plantation then the Magazines from hence. She returned with Figs, Pines, Sugar-canes, Plantans, Papawes, and divers other plants, which were presently replanted, and since have increased by the Governours commendable husbandry. Severity, by the conceit thereof produced an admirable fact: Five men which could by no meanes get passage for England, resolved to adventure an escape, viz. Richard Sander Mariner chiefe plotter, William Goodwin a Ship Carpenter, Tho. Harison a Joyner, James Baker Gentleman, and Henry Puet. These insinuated to the Governour, that they would build him a Boat of two or three Tuns with a close Deck, fit to fish in all weathers. Hee glad to see them so obsequious, furnished them with necessaries whatsoever they could desire. Shee was fitted and gone the evening before hee sent for her, to see, as was reported, how shee could saile. This was most true, and Botelias his adventure from Goa in the East Indies to Lisbon was not so admirable a triall. Barker had borrowed a Compasse Diall of M. Hughes, leaving a Letter to him to have patience for that losse, whereby their adventure was intimated. The Governours threats were not in that remotenesse so terrible as the two present swelling Elements, whom yet they found more gentle then a French Pickaroone, who in stead of succour, which they desired, tooke from them what they liked, leaving them not so much as a Crosse-staffe to observe with, and so cast them off. They continued their course till their victuall began to faile, and the knees of their Boat were halfe hewed away for fire wood. They at last arrived in Ireland, where the Earle of Tomund entertained them, and caused the Boat to be hanged up for a Monument, having sayled 3300. miles thorow the Ocean by a right line without sight of any Land. This fortunate Sanders

The Governours.

Admirable voyage.

His course was neerer shoare, with all provisions fitting.

Small Boat from Bermudas commeth to Ireland.

Sanders his fortunes.

in the rifling of a Ship taken in the East Indies, bought a Chest for three or foure shillings, but would for want of a Key have sold it againe for lesse. But one day having little to doe, hee broke it open and found therein 1000. pounds sterling, or so much gold as bought him in England a good estate, which leaving with his wife he returned againe to the East Indies.

Cap. Powell.

The Company sent Captaine Powell in the Hopewell, after he had landed his passengers in Summer Iles, to trade in the Indies, who by the way fell foule on a Brasillman, and afterwards a Frenchman on him: but hee got safe to the Ilands and told what he had done. The Governour kept his second Assize, and made a proclamation against the killing of coheires. Powell is againe sent to the West Indies from thence, with thirteene or fourteene men. Hee made triall but in vaine, for the Whale-fishing, for which and to which purpose the Company soone after sent the Neptune. In the beginning of his second yeere he called the third azise, in which one was hanged, two others condemned, but reprieved. The Rat Tragedy was now terrible: some Fishes have been taken with Rats in their bellies, catched as they swam from Ile to Ile. One Henry Long, with sixe others being on fishing, a sudden storm arose with terrible thunder, and the Boat was tossed over the Rocks, the fish tossed over-boord, and Long with two others escaped (the rest drowned) one of the three being demanded what he thought in the present perill, answered, hee said nothing, but Gallowes claime thy right, which within halfe a yeere fell out accordingly. Powell returned with three Frigats, laden with Meale, Hides, and Munition. The Master and Governour contending, both were dispossessed by a stronger power. Waters, with twelve men were sent to Virginia, and would no more returne to Summers Iles.

1617. *Hurt by Rats filling all the Iland.*

[IV. ix. 1804.] *Gallowes clappers fate.*

1618. *Magazines not so profitable as intended.*

A. 1618. arrived there the Diana, with men and provision, and the first Magazine (a course I heare not much applauded by the Planters here, or in Virginia,

the companies honest care) seeming by some others dishonestie frustrate. This Ship fraught with 30000. weight of Tobacco, gave by the good sayle thereof encouragement to the Adventurers. The Governour building a house of Cedar in the best Land, appropriated it to himselfe to the griefe of others there, of whom Master Hughes could not by threats nor imprisonment be so pacified, but that here to the Company hee approved his cause. Two men and a Gentlewomen, thinking to make their escape in a Boat to Virginia, were never heard of after. Sixe others attempted the like, but were apprehended, arraigned, condemned, and one of them hanged. The Governours hard dealings so much complained of, caused him in the Blessing to returne to excuse himselfe, and to get that house assured him, leaving Captaine Kendall to supply his place. The Gilli-flower and the Treasurer were sent. By the Sea-flower which went to Virginia, a Preacher was sent to the Ilands, and newes of a new Governour. Captaine Kerby came in with a small Barke from the West Indies. A Dutch Frigot was cast away on the Westerne shoare, the people saved by the English.

Escapers not escaping.

Two ships sent.

Cap. Butler Governour. 1619.

Captaine Butler, the new Governour arrived in the Warwicke, the twentieth of October, 1619. The Redoubt, a platforme of the Kings Castle, at the same time whiles the New Governour and old Planters were feasting aboord, accidentally was consumed with fire. The next month came in the Garland, which had come from England sixe or seven weekes before him, and spent seventeen weekes on the voyage, which proved so tedious, that many both Saylers and Passengers died. In the end of November, arose such a storme that many great Trees were blown up by the roots, the Warwicke cast away, the Garland forced to cut her Masts overboord. Not long after happened another as fierce; in which the Mount, built by M. Moore for a Watch-tower, was blowne up by the roots; and their winter crop of Corne blasted.

Great stormes.

He began the new yeere with refortifying the Kings Castle, and finding the Treasurer rotten, tooke nine Peeces of Ordnance out of her. Hee sent the Garland for England. Hee finished the Church begun by Captain Kendall, with great toile got three Peeces out of the wracked Warwick, imployed a Dutch Carpenter of the former Dutch wrack to build Boates. A luckie fellow *Ambergreece.* in February, found a piece of Ambergreece of eight Ounces, as hee had done twice afore, and according to order of Court (to prevent concealements) had therfore thirtie pound an Ounce. Two Dutch Frigots arrived, conducted by Captaine Powell, and much refreshed the Colony with Oyle and Bacon at cheape rates. The *New platforme.* Governour made a new platforme in place of the burned Redoubt, and mounted seven great Peeces on Cariages of Cedar. The Ministers not being conformable to the Church of England, nor uniforme with themselves in *Ministers scruples.* administration of the Sacrament, and Matrimony, hee translated the Liturgie Booke of Garnsie and Jarsie, void of the pretended scruples which was generally embraced, and in his time practised, and the Sabbaths observation proclaimed. They rebuilded the Mount, and divers Boats was indangered with a Hericano, one lost. Finding a *Sir George Summers memorial.* little Crosse erected where Sir George Summers his heart and entrailes were buried: he caused a Marble stone brought out of England, to bee handsomely wrought, and an Epitaph engraven, in memory of that worthy Souldier, and laid thereon, invironed with a square wall of hewed stone.

On the second of June, began their Assizes, in which their Lawes and Government were reduced to the English forme. The first of August, was a generall Assembly *Their first Parliament.* in manner of a Parliament, at Saint Georges, divers Articles concluded, and being sent hither, by the Company confirmed, which for brevitie I omit. The Magazine Ship soone after came in weake case thither, having cast overboord twentie or thirtie of her people, and had they staied at Sea a weeke longer, were likely to have all

perished. That aire soon mends or ends men in that case, and those which died not soone after the landing recovered, not without infection of others there, 70000. weight of Tobacco was prefixed for her freight. Commandement came now to entertaine no Ships, but such as were sent from the Company, to the Colonies great griefe, which now were forced to a Magazine-Monopoly, and debarred of occasionall reliefe. Cap. Powell soone after came thither, imployed by the States, desiring admittance for wood and water, which was denied with exceeding murmuring and exclaiming of the Colony. The Magazine Ship arrived, her Master dead, and many passengers, the rest sicke.

Spanish Wrack.

These made false reports in England, the Spanish Embassadour also urging the same, till the contrarie was manifested.

Then happened also in September a Spanish Wrack, which comming from Carthagena with the Spanish Fleet lost their Ship on those Rockes, and seventie persons were saved, some of which had beene rifled, but their money to the value of one hundred and fortie pound restored them by the Governours meanes: into whose hands they committed it for disbursment of their charges. Some were sent away, others forced to stay till their labours had procured meanes for their passage. Hee made meanes to get out of the Wrack two Sakers, and three Murtherers, which were the same which Cap. Kendall had sold to Cap. Kerby, who was taken by two men of War of Carthagena, most of his men slaine or hanged, hee wounded died in the Woods, as these Spaniards related. Three Bulwarkes were raised at Southampton Fort, with two Curtens and two Javelens. Armes were distributed to all such as were able to use them.

[IV. ix. 1805.]

Weavells cure.

The Weavells (which had at this time much hurt their Corne) found a strange remedy. For a proclamation being made that all Corne should be gathered by a day, because many had lost some for want of gathering, still haunting the Ships for Aqua-vitæ and Beere; some bad husbands hastily gathered it, and threw it on heapes in their houses unhusked, so letting it lye foure or five moneths. Now the good husbands husked theirs, and

hanged it up with much labour, where the Flies did blow it, which the others idlenesse, as the event shewed, prevented, that being thus found to be the best way to save the corne and labour, to let it lye in the huske. Divers places of fresh-water were now also luckily found out. Another triall of whale-fishing was vainely attempted by a Ship which came from Virginia, who returned thither fraught with Lime-stone, 20000. pound weight of Potatos, &c.

Aprill and May were spent in building a Prison, and perfecting some Fortifications, and foure Sakers were gotten from the Spanish Wrack, and mounted at the Forts. One was hanged for buggering a Sow, whose Cock in the time of his imprisonment used also to tread a Pig, as if it had beene a Hen, till the Pig languished and died, and then the Cock haunted the same Sow. About the same time two Chickens were hatched, one of which had two heads, the other is said to have crowed loud and lustily within twelve houres after it was out of the shell. Other Peeces were got out of the Spanish Wrack, and a Saker also out of that of Sir George Summers.

By a Barke going to Virginia, Captaine Butler, his time expiring, conveied himselfe thither, leaving the government to C. Felgate C. Stokes, &c. In the Kings Castle were mounted, on sufficient platformes, sixteen Peeces of Ordnance. In Charles Fort two, in Southampton Fort five, betwixt which & the Castle passeth the channel into the Harbor, secured by twenty three Peeces of good Ordnance. In Coups Ile is Pembrookes Fort, with two Peeces. Saint Georges channell is guarded by Smiths Fort and Payets Fort, in which are eleven Peeces. Saint Georges Towne is commanded by Warwicks Fort, with three great Peeces, on the Wharfe before the Governours house are eight more, besides the warning Peece by the Mount, and three in Saint Katherines; in all tenne Fortresses, and fiftie two Peeces of Ordnance sufficient and serviceable. Hee left one thousand five

Forts & Ordnance in Bermudas.

hundred persons, and neere one hundred Boates, the Ile replenished with provisions, fruites, poultry, &c.

M. Bernard Governour. 1622. Master John Bernard, was sent by the Honourable Company to supply his place, who arrived within eight dayes of Captaine Butlers departure, with two Ships, and one hundred and fortie Passengers, with Armes and all sorts of Munition and other provisions. During his life (which continued but sixe weekes) hee gave good proofe of his sufficiency in reforming things defective. He and his wife were both buried in one day, and one grave: and Master John Harrison chosen Governour till further order came from London.

M. Harrison Governour. 1623. *Wormes noysome.* The Wormes before mentioned are still troublesome, and make them morning workes to kill them. Caterpillers are pernicious to their fruits, and Land Crabs are as thicke in some places, as Conies in a Warren, and doe much harme. A Ship in which had beene much swearing and blaspheming used all the voyage, perished; the companies negligence jovially frolicking in their cups and Tobacco (having landed certaine goods) by accident the Powder fired, and blew up the great Cabbin; some were taken up in the Sea, living in miserable torments, eighteene were lost with this fatall blast, the Ship also sunke, with sixtie Barrells of Meale sent for Virginia, and her other provisions lost. The Company have sent Captaine Woodhouse in a Ship called the Tigre for that government, a man much commended and hopefull. I have beene told that there are three thousand persons of all sorts living there, halfe of which number is able to beare Armes, and exercised to that service.

Chap. XIX.

Briefe intelligence from Virginia by Letters, a supplement of French-Virginian Occurrants, and their supplantation by Sir Samuel Argal, in right of the English Plantation.

THE late alteration of Virginia Government is unknowne to none; and most know of the frequent complaints, both by private Letters, and by Petitions to his Majesty. Now least any should hereupon thinke Virginia to be unworthy of such our care and cost; I have out of one of the Planters private Letters transcribed a few words of grievances, and yet a magnifying of the Country, that the English may be more blamed for want of Providence, then the Region for defect of Natures best gifts. Other things I could alleadge from others, but my meaning is to amend things not to quarrell them, and to awaken the care of good men, rather then to recite the faults of the bad. In one Letter, dated Dec. 22. last past, he hath these words: [IV. ix. 1806.]

He mentions in other letters 3.s. a pound of Butter, 6.d. ready monie for a pinte of Milke, 10.s. or 12.s. a day for a workman (Carpenter) besides meate and lodging.

The intollerable rates we pay here for commodities, as ten pound sterling a hogshead of Meale, sixteen shillings a gallon of Alligant, three pound sterling a Henne and eight Chickens, &c. and so according to these rates for every thing else: lastly, the heavy taxations that are laid upon us free men, for building of Castles, paying of publique debts, for the not gathering of Sasafras, &c. so that it will come to my share, with that that is paid, and that that is to pay in Corne and Tobacco, to at least twenty or five and twenty pound sterling, this yeere; so that when I have paid this, and paid my faithlesse servants their wages, I shal scarse have good Tobacco enough left to buy my selfe for the next yeer a pint of Aquavitæ, &c. Thus you see (I neither warrant, nor except against the truth, but present the worst quarelled

paralelled with the best) complaints of great prizes of things, not arising from plenty of money, as you reade before in the conquest of Peru, but from I know not what ill habit and indisposition of that Colony. And least any man should withdraw his heart, hand, or purse therefore from that worthy work, I have out of the same mans Letters delivered a commendation of the Countrey. The Letters were written, and dated 22. March 1624. and containe for substance none other then what before you have read in others; yet are more sutable to this time and purpose, as later newes and fitter directories to the Phisitians of that Estate; that at last the English honour may be vindicated against so base perils from Savages, and baser quarrels from and amongst our owne. God prosper his Majesties care, and make those which are therein emploied not to seeke their owne good by hasty returnes, much lesse other their fellow adventurers evill by calumnies and underminings, but Virginias prosperity; of which, Natures prosperity is thus related by one querulous of his owne losses and crosses. His words are these:

Now concerning the state of the Country, so much as I have observed, I will relate unto you: First, the Countrie it selfe, I must confesse is a very pleasant Land, rich in Commodities, and fertile in soyle to produce all manner of Plants, Hearbes, and Fruites. I have seene here my selfe both Carrets, Turneps, Cabages, Onyons, Leekes, Garlicke, Tyme, Parseley, Pompions, Muskmilion, and Watermilions, rare fruits and exceeding wholesome, here are also Strawberries; I have lien downe in one place in my Corne field, and in the compasse of my reach have filled my belly in the place: and for Mulberries, I can when I list goe and gather a bushell at a time; here is also a coole Fruite growing wildely on the ground, much resembling a great Walnut with the greene rinde on it, which reserves in it three admirable good tastes, namely of Strawberries, Rosewater, and Sugar, they were an exceeding great comfort to me in

my last yeeres sicknesse, and are admirable good against the bloudly fluxe.

English Wheate and Barley will grow here exceeding well; I have seene here growing as good English Wheate as ever I saw in England in all my life. For Timber we have the Oake, Ashe, Poplar, blacke Walnut, white Walnut, Pines, Gumme trees; the Pines here afford admirable good Pitch and Tarre, and serve, split out in small peeces, in many places of this Land instead of Candles; but it will smeare one worse then a Linke: here are also Peare trees which yearely bring forth Peares. But there is a tree that passeth all Fruite trees, which we call by the names of a Prissurmon tree, which beareth a Plum much about the bignesse of a Peare plum. I doe thinke it is one of the rarest Fruites in the world; when they are ripe they eate naturally of themselves from the tree better then any preserved Plummes I ever tasted in England. The Beasts that this Land is plentifully stored withall are Deere, Beares in some parts, Beavers, Otters, Foxes, Hares, Squirrels, Roccounes, Possucins, names strange to you, yet are they singular good meate; the Roccouns tasting as well as Pigges flesh. Indian Dogges here are as good meate with us as your English Lambe. English Cattell here increase and thrive very well, as Kine, Hogges, Goates, and Poultry. Fowle here are abundance, as Swans, Brants, Geese, Turkies, Herons, Cranes, Eagles, fishing Hawkes, Bussards, Ducke and Mallard, Sheldrake, Dapchicke, Partriches, Pidgeons, Crowes, Blacke-birds, and all manner of small Birds in abundance. Our Rivers here are likewise rich by the abundance of Fish, as Herings, Shads, Perch, Eele, Pike, Carpe, Cat-fish, Rock-fish, Gor-fish, and Sturgeon. If here were any that would make fishing for Sturgeon an occupation, they might take inough to furnish this Land, and also plentifully supply England. I my selfe have seene above twenty Sturgeon leape above water in lesse then two houres. As for our Graine, I thinke it produceth the plentifullest encrease of any Corne in the World;

for I have seene one graine of Corne, that by the assistance of growth and time, hath yeelded a pint of Corne: we have here also Beanes and Pease.

I confesse here are plentie of all those things I have set before you, but all the craft is in catching them; for he that will get any gaine, must be a wary and a well eyed shot, and to prop his profession, he must adde great care and vigilance, both in defending himselfe and winning his game. It hath beene often seene in this Land, that whilest an Englishman hath beene winning his game, an Indian hath dogd him, attending his opportunitie by the others discharge to fill him full of Arrowes. Since the Massacre they have killed us in our owne doores, fields, and houses: thus are we not safe neither at home nor abroad; and (which grieves me to write) our safetie is lessened by our malice one to another, for the most part altogether neglecting the common enemie. I my selfe and my wife are by some secret enemies much wronged, for I am shaven so bare, that I have scarse either Garter, Girdle, Stocking, or Shirt left; all my wearing Cloathes likewise are torne and tattered, I can accuse no man, and they that likewise doe it, doe it privately, and which grieves me most of all, they strive by base and insinuating meanes to clip the wings, as well of my prosperitie as of [IV. ix. 1807.] my reputation; yet I hope God will give me patience to beare, and in his good time give me a joyfull deliverance in the middest of all these miseries. Whilest I was a writing these lines, newes was brought me of the killing of one, and the carrying away prisoner of another of my neighbours, by the Indians; one was an old Virginian, and one who for a long time was Sir Thomas Dale his Overseer in this Land, his name was Master Henry Watkins: and but two daies agoe there was another that had his braines beaten out by the Indians, in the next Plantation to us. Wherefore with a sad and sorrowfull heart I take my leave of you deere Father, Mother, Sisters, Brethren, and all the rest of my kinde and loving friends; for the case stands so with us here, that if wee

goe out in the morning, wee know not whether wee shall ever returne; working with our Hoe in one hand, and our Peece or Sword in the other, &c.

And now from latest intelligence you have notice of the good and evill, as becommeth a faithfull Historian, nequid non veri audeat, nequid veri non audeat; It is good to know the worst, to prevent it: forewarned, forearmed. Easily you may see that the good things of Virginia are naturall and her owne, the bad accidentall and our owne; and consequently if wee amend our selves, Virginia will soone be amended. The body there is found; to cut the haire, avoide the excrements, paire the nailes, wash away sweate and dust, and to cure other like accidents of negligence, or impenitent and unprofitable diligence, is a worke feasible and facile also to industrious and unanimous workemen. One thing touching the French (whose Plantations are before recited) remaineth, that we take away all scruple from feare of suspected neighbours. I shall therefore adde a little more touching them, the conclusion of their Virginian Plantation in a double sense. As for the English right to these parts, the next Chapter will shew, and consequently the Justice of Sir Samuell Argals act. The Patents to Sir Humfry Gilbert, and to Sir Walter Raleigh, and their actuall possession before these latter Plantations may be alleadged likewise against the French. These things I have collected out of Sir William Alexanders Encouragement to Colonies; Lescarbot hath also related them.

Corteregalis made a voiage to those parts An. 1500. *and another* 1501. *After that his brother, but both lost. Gomes another Portugal sought straits there An.* 1525. *The land was called Terra Corteregalis from* 60. *deg. to S. Laurence.*

The Marquesse de la Roche, by a Commission from Henry the fourth, intending a Voyage for Canada, happened by the way upon the Ile of Sablon (which is now comprehended within the Patent of new Scotland) and there (trusting to the strength of the place, where there are no Savages at all) landed some of his men, till he should have found a convenient place within the maine Land fit for a habitation, promising then to returne for them. But it was his fortune, by reason of contrary winde, never to finde the Maine Land, but he was blowne

backe to France without seeing of them, where he was in the time of the civill warres (such is the uncertainty of worldly things) taken prisoner by the Duke of Mercæur, and shortly after died; so that his people whom he had left at Sablon, furnished but for a short time, had quickly spent their provisions, having for their maintenance onely such things as the place it selfe did without labour freely afford; which hath a race of Cowes, as is thought, first transported thither by the Portugals, that have long continued there: they had likewise there growing wilde, of this which wee call Turkey Wheate, and sundry Rootes fit to be eaten, and every where abundance of Fishes, with Venison, and (having no meanes to live but by sport) as for their Apparell, they cloathed themselves with the Skins of such creatures as they could kill by Land or Sea: so that having lived there for the space of 12. years: when they were presented to King Henry, who had hired a Fisherman to bring them home, as I have heard from them that did see them at first before the King, they were in very good health, and looked as well as if they had lived all that time in France: having bin abused by the Fisherman, who cunningly conceiling that he had bin directed by the King, did bargaine with them to have all their Skins for transporting them home, which were of great value, some of them being of blacke Foxes, which have bin sould at fiftie pound sterling a peece and above: for the recovery thereof they intended a Processe against him before the Court of Parliament at Paris, wherein they prevailed, gaining by that meanes a stocke wherewith to traffique in these parts againe.

Monsieur de Montes betaking himselfe to trade for Furs, Monsieur Pourtrincourt resolving to prosecute the Plantation at that place sent his sonne Biencourt to France, to bargaine with some that would send them a supply, such as was requisite for establishing of that Colonie.

The first that embraced his propositions were the

Jesuites, who as they have ordinarily good wits which made them the rather capable of so advantagious a project, so they were the more animated thereunto by upbraiding the lazinesse of our Clargie, to shew with what fervency they travelled to propagate the Gospell, in doing whereof (whether it be ambition or devotion that provokes them) sparing no paines, they have travelled both to the East and West Indies, and to the admired Kingdome of China. Their society in France, prevailing with all that had any inclination either to zeale or to vertue, did easily gather a voluntary contribution for the furthering of so commendable a purpose. Thereafter they sent away two Fathers of their Company, with a new supply of all things necessary to the Plantation at Port Royall, but shortly after their arrivall (their predominant disposition hardly yeelding to any superiour, specially if it be a secular power) they began to contradict Pourtrincourt in the execution of those decrees which had bin given forth by him, as civill Magistrate of that place: whereupon the Gentleman extreamely discontented, and weary of contesting with him; having said that it was his part to rule them upon earth, and theirs onely to guide him the way to heaven, he returned backe to France, leaving his Sonne Biencourt in his place. Who being a youth at that time of more courage then circumspectnesse, disdaining to be controuled by them whom he had envited thither, and scorning their insupportable presumption, using spirituall armes for temporall ends, and an imperious kinde of carriage, who onely for spleene had excommunicated and branded him with a spirituall censure; he threatned them by his temporall power with a more palpable punishment. So that after much controversie, resolving to separate themselves, the two Jesuites taking a part of the Company with them, went from thence to a place in new England, called by them Mount Desart, where they seated themselves; and having a supply from the Queene Mother did plant sundry Fruit trees of the most delicate kindes in France, such as

Jesuites.

[IV. ix. 1808.]

Apricockes and Peaches, never intending to remove from thence.

*I have heard that Sir T. Dale was the Governor of Virginia and sent him.

At this time Sir Samuel Argall being then Governor * of Virginia, coasted alongst new England to traffique and discover, or to acquire things necessary for the Southerne Colony in these parts, where the lands are reputed to be more fertil, and the Seas more frequented, & did conceive by a description made unto him by the Savages, that there were some come from this part of the World to inhabit there; and being jealous of any thing that might derogate from the honour, or prove prejudiciall to the benefit of his Nation, where their interest in this was easie to be apprehended; he went whereas he was informed that they were, and his unexpected arrivall, as it would seeme, not onely amazed the mindes of the French, but likewise preventing their preparation and resolution; he approached so neere to a Ship that lay before their Fort, that hee beate them all that were therein with Musket shot from making any use of their Ordnance, save one of the two Jesuites, who was killed in giving fire to a Peece: Having taken the Ship, they landed and went before the Fort, summoning them that were therein to yeelde themselves, who at the first made some difficulty, asking a time to advise; but that being refused, they privately abandoned the Fort, stealing out by some backe way into the Woods, where they staied one night, and the next day comming backe, rendered themselves to Sir Samuel Argall, who had lodged all that night within the Fort, giving up the Patent they had from the French King to be cancelled. He used them very curteously, as their owne Writers doe make mention, suffring such as had a minde to goe for France, to seeke out Fishers Ships wherein they might be transported; the rest that were willing to goe for Virginia went thither alongst with him; no man having lost his life but onely that one Jesuite, who was killed whilst they made resistance, during the time of the conflict. Thereafter Father Biard, the other of the Jesuites, comming backe from Virginia with

Jesuite killed.

Sir Samuell Argall, out of the indigestable malice that he had conceived against Biencourt, did informe him where he had planted himselfe, offering (as he did) to conduct him thither. As soone as they were entered within the Fort, neere the uppermost of the Ilands, Sir Samuel directed the Ship to ride at a reasonable distance to attend occasions before the Fort did land himselfe with forty of the best of his men upon a Meddow, where immediately they heard a peece of Ordnance from the Fort, and he conceiving since it was shot whilst it could doe no harme, that it was done either but to give terrour to them, or to warne some that might happen to be abroad, did make the greater haste towards the Fort, where he presently entered, finding it abandoned without any men at all left for the defence thereof. He went up the River side five or six miles, where he saw their Barnes, and the ground where a great quantity of Wheate had grown, which he carried with him to prove for Seede in Virginia: he saw also their corne Milne very conveniently placed, which together with the Barnes he left standing untouched. As for the Fruit it selfe he destroied it downe to the ground, racing the French armes, and leaving no Monument that might remaine to witnesse their being here.

After this, Biencourt, who had been somewhere abroad travelling through the Countrey comming home, desired to conferre with Sir Samuel Argall, who did meete with him a part from the company upon a meadow: and after they had expostulated a space for what had past controverting concerning the French and English, little to these bounds, at last Biencourt offered, if hee might have a protection from him, to depend upon our King, and to draw the whole Furres of that Countrey to one Port, where he would divide them with him; as likewise hee would show him good mettalls, whereof he gave him pieces, the other refused to joyne in any societie with him, protesting that his Commission was onely to displant him, and that if hee found him there thereafter hee would use him as an enemy. Beincourt labouring earnestly to have

had the Jesuit, as he confessed, with a purpose to hang him. Whilest they were discoursing together, one of the Savages rushing suddenly forth from the Woods, and licentiated to come neere, did after his manner, with such broken French as he had earnestly mediate a peace, wondring why they that seemed to be of one Country, should use others with such hostilitie, and that with such a forme of habit and gesture as made them both to laugh.

After Biencourt removing from thence to some other, Monsieur Champlein, who had lived long here, did carry a company with him from France of some fortie persons or thereabouts, up the River of Canada whom hee planted on the North side thereof, with a purpose to sue for a Factory, drawing all the trade of that farre running River, within the hands of a few whom he doth command, which a Plantation would have dispersed in many parts, otherwise, if his desires had beene bended that way, hee might have planted many people there ere now; the place is called Kebeck, where the French doe prosper well, having Corne by their owne labour, which may furnish themselves for foode, and likewise for a stocke to traffique with the Savages, with sundry other Fruites, Rootes, Vine grapes and Turkey Wheate. Champlein hath discovered the River of Canada from the Gulfe upwards above 1200. miles, finding in it sometimes such fals as he must carry his Boate a little way by land, and then put it in againe. He did many times come to great Lakes, at the end whereof he did alwaies finde a River againe: and the last Lake where he came was a very huge one, judged to be three hundred miles in length, by the report of some Savages, who did affirme unto him, that at the further end thereof they did finde Salt water, and that they had seene great Vessels; which made Champlein beleeve that a passage might be there to the Bay of California, or to some part of the South Sea, which would prove an inestimable benefit for the Inhabitants of these parts, opening a neere way to China, which hath bin so many sundry wayes with so great charges so long sought for.

[IV. ix. 1809.]

The South Sea suspected (as before in Dermers letter) by Savages relations.

Howsoever, in regard of the season, and for want of necessary provisions, Champleine did returne backe at that time, with a purpose to goe againe another yeare: which if hee hath done is not yet knowne, but this is most certaine, that the River of Canada hath a long course, and through many goodly Countries: some of these great Lakes, by sending forth, or by receiving great Rivers, doe afford meanes of commerce as farre as to some parts of Terra Florida, as may be gathered by Champleines discovery, &c.

THus have I given thee Others travells to Virginia and the Summer Ilands, I will conclude with mine owne travells for them. I see many likely to bee disheartened by the slender growth of the Virginian Plantation, which for the time might have beene not onely a safe, but a rich and blessed Mother of a numerous thriving generation, branching farre into other Colonies; and yet is! But why doe I intercept your eyes and divert your thoughts (suspend them at best) from that which for my Countries good and zeale to Virginia, without partiall respect on the right hand or on the left, with a candid right hand I here present, and forbid all sinister hands to meddle with? Tros Tyriusve mihi—I side no where, but embrace Virginia with a right heart, my pen directed, my hands erected for her good, which can doe mee no other good, but in reference to the publike, whose I am and whom under God and his Majestie I serve and observe with all that I have, am, and can. I had written it as a tractate by it selfe, at the request of some worthy friends, but here have abridged it in some such things as the other parts of these Volumes containe.

Chap. XX.

Virginias Verger: Or a Discourse shewing the benefits which may grow to this Kingdome from American English Plantations, and specially those of Virginia and Summer Ilands.

Ἐκ Διδε ἀρχώμεσθα τοῦ γδ καὶ γένος ἐσμενον. Arat. Of God, and the image of God in Man.

God is the beginning and end, the Alpha and Omega, that first and last, of whom and for whom are all things. The first and last thing therefore in this Virginian argument considerable, is God; that is, whether we have Commission from him to plant, and whether the Plantation may bring glory to him: This in regard of us and our scope; That in regard of it, and the lawfulnesse thereof. To

Gen. 1. 1. begin with this; In the beginning God created heaven and earth (all things therefore are his by a higher name then right, this rule and the things ruled, being his creatures) of both which Man onely amongst Visible creatures was created capable, which Moses delivereth in these words, that God created him after his owne Image: which is spoken not onely of the spirituall, immortall substance of his soule, whose unity shineth with that created Trinity of Understanding, Will, Memory, in it selfe; and that of Vegetation, Sense, Reason, exercised in and by bodily motion; but more especially in regard

Eph. 4. 24. of the Creator, a conformity to him in righteousnesse & holinesse of truth (the whole Man shining with a borrowed light, as the Moone is the image and reflexion of the Sunne) and in regard of the Creature, a just dominion

Gen. 1. 28. over the same, as the holy words manifest; replenish the Earth and subdue it, and have dominion over the Fish of the Sea, and over the Fowle of the ayre, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth. Although Mans rebellion had forfeited this Naturall Charter, yet was the

Gen. 9. 2. same in the repeopling of the World renewed to Noah and his Sons, which ever since have beene in actuall

possession: and as Adam gave names (as humaine eare-marks) to the living creatures; so Noahs heires have since given names to Seas and Lands, and other creatures quite thorow the knowne World. Neither did the Fall of Man so cracke this earthen vessell, that all his created excellence ran out: for neither were the substance or faculties of the soule extinct, nor his prerogative over the visible creatures (the spirituall creature naturally excelling the bodily, and the reasonable and living, the sensitive, vegetative and torpid:) these received a wound, the other (his spirituall and religious conformitie in these to God) as a purer water of the purest life, ran forth irrecoverably; and as our naturall parts were weakned and wounded, so of those supernaturall wee were utterly robbed; till that good Samaritan undertooke the restitution of that in redemption, whereunto in creation he had given first institution, God hath laid upon him the iniquitie of us all, and in his stripes wee are healed; our Charter is renued and now made so compleat, that whereas the devills thought to rob man of Earth and Paradise, Hee which taketh the wise in his craftinesse hath restored him: nay (that is little) hath added Heaven Himselfe: that as the Israelites entred upon the houses, Cities and possessions of the cursed Canaanites, so Christians into those Thrones and celestiall Dominions, which those spirituall Thrones and Dominions lost, and there have God himselfe and the Lambe to be their Temple and All in all unto them for ever, Amen.

Gen. 2.

[IV. ix. 1810.]

Esay 53.

1. *Cor.* 3.

Apoc. 21. 1. *Cor.* 15.

Hence is it that Christians (such as have the Grace of the Spirit of Christ, and not the profession of his merit alone) have and hold the world and the things thereof in another tenure, whereof Hypocrites and Heathens are not capable. These have onely a Naturall right, by the reliques of the Law of Nature left in Man, by the Creators goodnesse, for the conservation of the face of a world in the world; the same further improved with a warrantization, Contra omnes gentes (our evidences dialect) by the Law of Nations unto Nations, and Lawes Politicke

Of the right of Christians and that of Heathens to the world. See these things more fully handled in To. 1. *l.* 1. *c.* 1. §. 3. 4. 5.

and Civill in each Nation, allotting to the members thereof the publike and private civill rights and tenures, which either publike or private, persons or corporations, held therein.

Joh. 8. 35. 36. Πιστις ἀνοπόκριτος, 1. *Tim.* 1. 6. This tenure comparatively that Christian, is by our Lord himselfe called a tenure in villenage, that of sonnes: the servant hath his time and abides not in the house for ever: but the sonne is heire in fee simple (fide simplici) for ever. Neither yet is it lawfull for Christians, to usurpe the goods and lands of Heathens; for they are villains not to us; but to our and their Lord; nor hath the sonne in nonage power to dispossesse villaines: nor are wee sonnes by nature, but by adoption, and a later Evangelicall Charter which doth not disannull the former (the Truth, or Word of the Gospel received by Faith, makes us free) free Tenants to our Lord, not Lordly subverters of others tenures; which may with a good conscience use our owne (all things to the pure are pure, which others cannot, whose conscience being pitchy, all things it toucheth, are defiled) and not, as some have turned libertie into licentiousnesse, with a bad conscience take away that which is anothers. Christ came not to destroy the Law, of which one Commandement is, Thou shalt not steale: My Kingdome, saith hee, is not of this world, and therefore properly medleth not with proprietie and civill interests. The weapons of our warfare, saith Saint Paul, are not carnall but spirituall, and the Keyes so much boasted on by Peters pretended Successors, are called Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven; lawfull keyes, not thievish picklocks; of Heaven, not of Earth. And it is remarkable that neither Pope nor Anabaptist (the troubles of Israel with worse then Heathenish conceits in this kind) ever inverted or interverted Scepters, till they had denied the very Christian name which they received in Baptisme; nor dispised government till they were twice dead, nor promised this libertie to others, till themselves were the servants of corruption. Even a Malefactor, a Traytor, a very Faux, or Raviliac, is permitted to breath,

Christians may not spoile Heathens.

Gal. 3. 17.

Tit. 1.

Matth. 5. *John* 19. 36.

2. *Cor.* 10. 4.

Matth. 16.

Jud. 8. 2. *Pet.* 2. 19.

yea is in prison, the Kings house (whereof no private hand may dispossesse him) maintained at the Kings charge, till judgement have passed on him, which to the world is not till the end of the world, when Christ shall come to judge the quick and dead; who once so respected the jurisdiction of Ethnickes, that himselfe was thereby adjudged to the worst of sufferings, yea acknowledged that power given to Pilat from above. His Birth acknowledged Augustus his Edict, his Infancy fled Herods tyranny, his Man-hood payd Tiberius tribute, and his Death was Roman both in kind and sentence. Let every soule be subject to the higher powers, yeelded those noble armies of Martyrs in the Primitive Church; the contrary whereof hath yeelded Mastives and Monsters in these last and worst dayes.

John 19. 11.

Rom. 13. 1.

Therefore was Babels building in the East (and shall not Babelbable building in the West be) confounded that men might bee dispersed thorow the world, to take possession of their inheritance: and God which said, Replenish the earth, hath made of one bloud all Nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times and bounds of their habitation. Hee gave Ar to the children of Lot, and the Land of the Horims to Esaus posteritie, though not with like circumstances as Canaan to Israel: and it was by speciall indulgence, that Israel both spoiled the Egyptians and disherited the Canaanites. Let it bee enough, that Christ hath given us our selves in the Lords service to bee a perfect freeman, the Universe in an universall tenure, and Heaven in reversion; that hath given his Sonne, doth give his Spirit, will give himselfe; that all things are ours, and wee Christs, and Christ Gods: without thoughts of invasion and usurpation, knowing that Christian Charity seeketh not her owne things (much lesse obtrudes on others) and Christian libertie maketh liberall Saints of naturall men, not unnaturall devills of professed Saints. Our Light should so shine before others, that they may see our good workes, that they

Gen. 11.

Acts 17. 27.

Deut. 2. 9. 19.

1. *Cor.* 3.

1. *Cor.* 13.

Matth. 5.

1. *Pet.* 3.

which know not the world, may bee won without the Word, in admiring our Christian conversation.

[IV. ix. 1811.] This should be, and in the most Adventurers I hope is the scope of the Virginian Plantation, not to make Savages and wild degenerate men of Christians, but Christians of those Savage, wild, degenerate men; to whom preaching must needs bee vaine, if it begins with publike Latrocinie. And this is sufficient to prevent scruple of the Popes Bul, which (if Basan Buls roaring were evidence) maketh aswel against England, this being no lesse questionable then Virginia, Paul, Pius, Gregory Sixtus breathing as much fire against this, as Alexander for that. But what right can England then challenge to Virginia? I answere, that we would be loth to begin our right at wrong, either to Ethnick or Christian: nor need we, having so manifold and just interests. First, as men, we have a naturall right to replenish the whole earth: so that if any Countrey be not possessed by other men, (which is the case of Summer Ilands, and hath beene of all Countries in their first habitations) every man by Law of Nature and Humanitie hath right of Plantation, and may not by other after-commers be dispossessed, without wrong to human nature. And if a country be inhabited in some parts therof, other parts remaining unpeopled, the same reason giveth liberty to other men which want convenient habitation to seat themselves, where (without wrong to others) they may provide for themselves. For these have the same right unto these latter parts, which the former had to the former; especially where the people is wild, and holdeth no settled possession in any parts. Thus the holy Patriarks removed their habitations and pasturages, when those parts of the world were not yet replenished: and thus the whole world hath been planted and peopled with former and later Colonies: and thus Virginia hath roome enough for her own (were their numbers an hundred times as many) and for others also which wanting at home, seeke habitations there in vacant places, with perhaps better right then the first,

Mans naturall right in places, either wholly or in great part not inhabited. Abraham, Lot, Jacob, &c.

I have heard by one which I thinke hath more searched the Countrie then any other Cap. Smith, that in neere so much as all England, they have not above 5000. *men able to bear armes, which manured and civilly planted might well nourish* 1500000. *and many many more; as appeareth by this our countrie, not having so rich a naturall Inheritance.*

Right of Merchandise.

1. *Cor.* 11. 21.

Securitie of Ports.

Gen. 10.

which (being like Cain, both Murtherers and Vagabonds in their whatsoever and howsoever owne) I can scarsly call Inhabitants. To question this right, were to accuse almost all Nations which were rocked (for the most part) in no other cradle: and to disappoint also that Divine Ordinance of replenishing the Earth, whose habitations otherwise would be like scattered Ilands in the Seas, or as the present Spanish Plantations in the Indies, so dispersed and disjoyned that one cannot in any distresse succour another, and therefore are made an easier prey to every Invader. Another right is that of Merchandise: Non omnia possumus omnes, Nec vero terræ ferre omnes omnia possunt; God in manifold wisedome hath diversified every Countries commodities, so that all are rich, and all poore; not that one should be hungry and another drunken, but that the whole world might be as one body of mankind, each member communicating with other for publike good. He hath made this immutable decree in the mutabilitie of the Winds, commodities & commodiousnesse of Seas, and Harbors, varietie of Baies and Rivers, multiplicity of all Mens both Necessities and Superfluities, and their universall desires of Novelties. Thus Salomon and Hiram had right to sayle over the Ocean, and to negotiate with the Ophirians for Gemmes, Gold, Ivory, and other commodities serviceable for his peoples necessities, for pompous Magnificence, and for the Temples Holies. And if hee did not plant Colonies there, you must remember that the Jewish Pale was then standing, which prohibited voluntarie remote dwellings, where each man was thrice a yeere to appeare before the Lord in Jerusalem. Besides, it is a question whether the Countrey peopled so long before, had roome for such Neighbours.

It is therefore ungodly, and inhumane also to deny the world to men, or like Manger-dogges (neither to eat hay themselves, nor to suffer the hungry Oxe) to prohibite that for others habitation, whereof themselves can make no use; or for merchandise, whereby much benefit

accreweth to both parts. They which doe this, Tollunt è vita vitæ societatem, to use Tullies phrase, & hominem ex homine tollunt, to borrow Saint Jeroms in another matter. The Barbarians themselves by light of nature saw this, and gave Ours kind entertainment in mutuall cohabitation and commerce: and they having not the Law were a Law to themselves, practically acknowledging this Law of Nature written by him, which is Natura naturans, in their hearts: from which if they since have declined, they have lost their owne Naturall, and given us another Nationall right; their transgression of the Law of Nature, which tieth Men to Men in the rights of Natures commons, exposing them (as a forfeited bond) to the chastisement of that common Law of mankind; and also on our parts to the severitie of the Law of Nations, which tyeth Nation to Nation. And if they bee not worthy of the name of a Nation, being wilde and Savage: yet as Slaves, bordering rebells, excommunicates and out-lawes are lyable to the punishments of Law, and not to the priviledges; So is it with these Barbarians, Borderers and Out-lawes of Humanity. Arma tenenti, Omnia dat qui justa negat, If the Armes bee just, as in this case of vindicating unnaturall, inhumane wrongs to a loving and profitable Nation, entertained voluntarily, in time of greatest pretended amity. On this quarrell David conquered all the Kingdome of the Ammonites and left it to his successours in many generations, notwithstanding Moses had otherwise left a speciall caution for their security, testifying that God had given it the sonnes of Lot, and prohibiting invasion to Israel. That natural right of cohabitation and commerce we had with others, this of just invasion and conquest, and many others prævious to this, we have above others; so that England may both by Law of Nature and Nations challenge Virginia for her owne peculiar propriety, and that by all right and rites usuall amongst men, not those mentioned alone but by others also, first discovery, first actuall possession, prescription, gift, cession, and livery of seisin,

Rom. 2. 14.

Right Nationall: Jus gentium.

Lucan. Right by right conquest.

2. *Sam.* 10.

Deut. 2. 19.

[IV. ix. 1812.]

sale for price, that I mention not the naturall Inheritance of the English their naturally borne, and the unnaturall outcries of so many unnaturally murthered, for just vengeance of rooting out the authors and actors of so prodigious injustice. *Englands manifold rights to Virginia.*

And first for discovery, the English, Spaniard, and Portugall seeme the Triumviri of the Worlds first discoveries, the Spaniard and Portugall first opening the Eastern, Western, and Southern parts, the English the Northern America, and all known parts thence to the North and Northeast. I could bring authority for King Arthurs conquests, above 1000. yeers since in Island, Gronland, Estotiland: but I feare this would seeme too weake a foundation, and (which lyers get by lying) discredit our other authorities lesse suspicious; howsoever Authors of best note in Geography alledge those, which reverence of the truth makes me let passe. And so I doe King Malgo soone after him, and Saint Brandon, and the Friar of Oxford (which A. 1360. is said to discover to the Pole) and Owen Gwined Prince of North Wales his sonne Madock, A. 1170. which conveyed a Colony, as learned men thinke into the West Indies. In all Antiquities, as Varro observed, there are somethings fabulous (so I deeme the former) something uncertaine, as this last; and somethings Historicall, as that which we shall deliver. Robert Thorne in a Booke to Doctor Leigh writeth, that his father with another Merchant of Bristol, Hugh Eliot, were the first discoverers of the New-found-lands; and if the Mariners would have beene ruled by their Pilot, the Lands of the West Indies from whence the Gold commeth had beene ours. What yeere this happened he expresseth not; but the words import that it was before Columbus his discovery. And before Columbus his discovery of the continent, Sir Sebastian Cabot, at the charges of K. Henry the seventh, with two Carvels, in the yeere 1496. (so himselfe, in Ramusio; the Map with his picture in the Privy Gallery hath 1497.) sailed to the New-found-land, which he called Prima Vista, *First discovery.*

Mercator D. Dee. Ortel. &c.

M. Thorne. Sir Seb. Cabota. his picture in the privie gallerie at White Hall hath these words. Effigies Seb. Cabotæ Angli filii Joannis Cabotæ Veneti, militis aurati, &c. he was born at Venice, and serving H. 7. H. 8. Ed. 6. was accounted English, &c. Galpano saith he was borne at Bristol.

and the Iland S. Johns, because it was discovered on the Feast of S. John Baptist; from whence he sailed Northerly to 67. deg. and a halfe, hoping by that way to passe to Cathay, but his mutinous company (terrified haply with Ice and cold) forced his returne, which hee made along the Coast toward the Equinoctiall, to the part of the firme land now called Florida, and then his victualls failing, he returned into England, where by occasion of warres with Scotland, the imploiment was laid aside. Afterwards the same Sir Sebastian Cabot was sent, A. 1516. by King Henry the eight, together with Sir Thomas Pert Vice-admirall of England, which after coasting this Continent the second time, as I have read, discovered the Coast of Brasil, and returned from thence to S. Domingo and Puerto Rico. Now Columbus his first discovery of the Ilands, was in 1492. of the Continent in his third voyage in August, 1497. or as others, 1498. so that counting most favourably for Columbus, Cabot had discovered the Continent in June next before; by one reckoning above a yeere, by another above two yeeres before. And indeed that New World might more fitly have borne his name, then America of Americus vesputius, or of Columbus, Cabot having discovered farre more of that Continent then they both, or any man else in those Seas: to wit, from 67. degrees and an halfe to the Line, and from thence Southerly to the River of Plate.

Sir Seb. Cab. Grand Pilot of England.

Hee also was the principall mover in the setting forth of Sir Hugh Willoughby, in King Edwards time (under whom he was constituted Grand Pilot of England, with the annuall stipend of one hundred sixtie sixe pound thirteene shillings foure pence) in which voyage Greeneland was discovered (neither is there any other Willoughbys Land to be found, but in erroneous Maps) and the Russian Empire by the North Cape, and the Bay of Saint Nicolas. But for Virginia, as it was then discovered by Sir Seb. Cabot, so it received that name from our Virgin-Mother, Great Elizabeth: in whose time formal & actual possession was taken for her Majesty, the

Possession, continuation, prescription.

thirteenth of July, 1584. by Captain Philip Amadas, and Captain Barlow, whom Sir Walter Raleigh had sent thither with two Barkes furnished; who also the next yeere, 1585. sent Sir Richard Greenevile with seven sayle, which there left an English Colony under the government of M. Ralph Lane. A. 1586. hee sent another Ship of one hundred Tuns thither for their reliefe: but the Colony being returned in Sir Francis Drakes Fleet, shee returned also. Sir Richard Greenevile also about a fortnight after their departure arrived with three Ships, and not finding the Colonie, left fifteene men to keepe possession, furnished with provision for two yeeres.

A. 1587. Sir Walter Raleigh sent a new Colony of one hundred & fifty persons, with three saile, a Ship of one hundred and twenty Tuns, a Fly-boat and a Pinnace. Hee appointed twelve Assistants to the Governour, and incorporated them by the name of Governour and Assistants of the Citie of Raleigh in Virginia. To these, Sir Walter Raleigh sent succour five severall times, the last by Samuel Mace, 1602. An. 1603. the Bristow men sent thither, by leave of Sir Walter Raleigh, in which Expedition was Master Robert Saltern, who the yeere before had beene with Cap. Bart. Gosnold. And thus are wee come to the beginning of his Majesties gracious raigne, when the North and South Plantations were by new Patents eagerly pursued, the one from hence, the other from the West parts of England. Mawooshen and other parts, were many yeeres visited by our men, and An. 1607. a Plantation setled at Sagadahoc, by two Ships sent by that wise and severe Justice Sir John Popham and others: the successe whereof hath been such, that from the North Plantation it hath beene dignified with the Title of New England. And for the Southerne parts, A. 1606. a Colony went from hence, set forth by the Virginia Company, which have ever since maintained their Plantation in differing fortunes. As for the former Plantations of Sir Walter Raleigh, some children were borne to them there: and whether they live, they con-

The names of above 100. *are extant in M. Hack.* 3. *Tome.*

[IV. ix. 1813.]

tinued the possession; or if the Savages dealt perfidiously with them (as Powhatan confessed to Cap. Smith, that hee had beene at their slaughter, and had divers utensills of theirs to shew) their carkasses, the dispersed bones of their and their Countrey mens since murthered carkasses, have taken a mortall immortall possession, and being dead, speake, proclaime and cry, This our earth is truly English, and therefore this Land is justly yours O English.

Two former Colonies, wholly, &c.

Thus have we discovered the English right by Discovery, Possession, Præscription; to which we may adde, that none other Nation hath once adventured to settle in those parts, nor scarce to view them: yea the French and Spanish Plantations in Florida, Virginias Southerne neighbour, soone ended in bloudy massacres, the Spanish cruelly murthering the French, under the conduct of Pedro Melendes, which An. 1567. was repaid them by Dominique de Gorgues, the acquittance written with his sword in Spanish bloud: Florida ever since expecting civilizing from her first discoverers the English: which is further ratified by the former Spanish disasters in the Expeditions of Pamphilo di Navarez, 1527. and of Soto, 1537. into Florida: which two journeyes consumed neere one thousand men therein imployed: besides other Expeditions of Ponce de Leon and others mentioned by Vega and the Spanish Authors.

Virginians acknowledge subjection and service to the English.

Now for voluntary subjection of the Natives, giving themselves and their lands to the Crown of England, M. Ralph Lane hath testified for the first Colonie, that Menatonon their King by his Messenger, & with him twentie foure principal men sent from Okisko King of Weopomiok his Vassall, formally acknowledged Her Majesty as servants and homagers to her, and under her to Sir W. R. For the last Plantation by the present Patent of His Majesty, Paspehay, one of their Kings sold us land for Copper, and Powhatan the chiefe Lord of all the Savages, with thirty nine Werowances, have yeelded to more then formes and circumstances of homage; besides contribution, having also actually sold for Copper by him

Right by buying & selling: and by cession.

received of Cap. John Smith, and made voluntary cession of as much as the English desired, going away with his people to leave it to the English onely. This purchase was much increased by Sir Thomas Dale, and for whatsoever else which he held, hee accepted a Copper Crowne as Vassall to His Majesty: which also hee really performed for a time, howsoever since they have beene perfidious. And this perfidiousnesse of theirs hath further warranted the English Title. Temperance and Justice had before kissed each other, and seemed to blesse the cohabitations of English and Indians in Virginia. But when Virginia was violently ravished by her owne ruder Natives, yea her Virgin cheekes dyed with the bloud of three Colonies (that of Sir R. Greenevile, that of Sir W. R. both confessed by themselves, and this last butchery intended to all, extended to so many hundreths, with so immaine, inhumane, devillish treachery) that I speake not of thousands otherwise mis-caring here and mis-carrying there, taking possession of Virginia by their facts, and fates, by so manifold losses adding to the price of Virginias purchase: Temperance could not temper her selfe, yea the stupid Earth seemes distempered with such bloudy potions and cries that shee is ready to spue out her Inhabitants: Justice cryeth to God for vengeance, and in his name adjureth Prudence and Fortitude to the execution.

Right by Forfeiture.

Fatall possession.

The Holy Patriarks had a promise of Canaan, yet held no possession but with their dead bodies; Joseph by faith gave charge concerning his bones: Virginia by so many rights naturalized English, by first discovery, actuall possession, chargeable continuation, long prescription, voluntary subjection, delivery of seisin, naturall inheritance of English there borne, reall sale, legall cession, regall vassallage; disloyall treason hath now confiscated whatsoever remainders of right the unnaturall Naturalls had, and made both them and their Countrey wholly English, provoking us, if wee bee our owne, not base, degenerate, unworthy the name of English; so that wee

Heb. 11.

shall not have any thing left (like Davids Embassadors, which thus abused, brought their Master a just title to Ammon, purchased by their disgraces) to cover our nakednesse, till Virginia cover, reward, inrich us with a totall subjection at lest, if not a fatall revenge. And thus much for our right which God hath given us: whose Virginian tribute is his glory, that hee may indeed be Alpha and Omega (as hath beene said) of the Virginian Plantation: which if it hath not satisfied the expectation hitherto, no doubt that defect hath in great part proceeded from this.

The Glorie of God in his Word and Workes advanced by this Plantation.

The end of a thing is the beginning, being first in intention though last in execution: the end which Christians ought to ayme at is God, Doing all things in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father, by the gracious guide and assistance of the Holy Ghost. Glory is, * Frequens de aliquo fama cum laude, And heereby is our Father glorified, sayeth Christ, if yee bring forth much fruite, and so shall yee be my Disciples. Loe here the scope of Christians Plantations, to plant Christianity, to produce and multiply Christians, by our words and works to further the knowledge of God in his Word and Workes. The workes of God glorifie their Creator: The Heavens, saith David, declare the glory of God, &c. I will triumph in the workes of thy hands. O Lord, how great are thy workes? and thy thoughts are very deepe. A bruitish man knoweth not, neither doth a foole understand this. All creatures are invited to praise the name of the Lord, for hee hath commanded and they were created: How much more should the tongue of man be the Pen of a readie writer, and as it is called, The glory of the man, so imploy it selfe in setting forth the glory of God, in his Workes of Creation, Providence, Redemption?

**Cicero.*
Jo. 15.
Ps. 19. 1.
Ps. 92. 4.
[IV. ix. 1814.]
Ps. 148. 5.
Ps. 16. &
ac. 2.
Ec. 1.

The workes of God, and varietie there seen set forth his glorie.

God is a Glorious Circle, whose Center is every where, his circumference no where: himselfe to himselfe is Circle and Circumference, the Ocean of Entitie, that very ubique, from whom, to whom (the Centre of unitie) all diversified lines of varietie issue and returne. And although we

every where feele his present Deitie, yet the difference of heavenly climate and influence, causing such discording concord of dayes, nights, seasons; such varietie of meteors, elements, aliments; such noveltie in Beasts, Fishes, Fowles; such luxuriant plentie and admirable raritie of Trees, Shrubs, Hearbs: such fertilitie of soyle, insinuation of Seas, multiplicitie of Rivers, safetie of Ports, healthfulnesse of ayre, opportunities of habitation, materialls for action, objects for contemplation, haps in present, hopes of future, worlds of varietie in that diversified world; doe quicken our mindes to apprehend, whet our tongues to declare, and fill both with arguments of divine praise. On the other side considering so good a Countrey, so bad people, having little of Humanitie but shape, ignorant of Civilitie, of Arts, of Religion; more brutish then the beasts they hunt, more wild and unmanly then that unmanned wild Countrey, which they range rather then inhabite; captivated also to Satans tyranny in foolish pieties, mad impieties, wicked idlenesse, busie and bloudy wickednesse: hence have wee fit objects of zeale and pitie, to deliver from the power of darknesse, that where it was said, Yee are not my people, they may bee called the children of the living God: that Justice may so proceed in rooting out those murtherers, that yet in judgement (imitating Gods dealing with us) wee may remember Mercy to such as their owne innocence shall protect, and Hope shall in Charitie judge capable of Christian Faith. And let men know that hee which converteth a sinner from the errour of his way, shall save a soule from death, and shall hide a multitude of sinnes. And Saviours shall thus come on Mount Zion to judge the Mount of Esau, and the Kingdome (of Virginia) shall be Lord. Thus shall wee at once overcome both Men and Devills, and espouse Virginia to one husband, presenting her as a chast Virgin to Christ. If the eye of Adventurers were thus single, how soone and all the body should be light? But the loving our selves more then God, hath detained so great blessings from us to

Propagation of the Gospell: & rewards thereof.

Ose 2.

Jam. 5. 20.

Obad. ult.

2. *Cor.* 11. 2.

Matth. 6. 22.

1. *Tim.* 4. 8. Virginia, and from Virginia to us. Godlinesse hath the promises of this life, and that which is to come. And if wee be carefull to doe Gods will, he will be ready to doe ours.

All the rich endowments of Virginia, her Virgin-portion from the creation nothing lessened, are wages for all this worke: God in wisedome having enriched the Savage Countries, that those riches might be attractives for Christian suters, which there may sowe spirituals and reape temporals.

Answeres to Objections: & first to the want of Gold and Silver Mines.

But what are those riches, where we heare of no Gold nor Silver, and see more impoverished here then thence enriched, and for Mines we heare of none but Iron? Iron mindes! Iron age of the world! who gave Gold or Silver the Monopoly of wealth, or made them the Almighties favorites? Precious perils, specious punishments, whose originall is neerest hell, whose house is darknesse, which have no eye to see the heavens, nor admit heavens eye (guilty malefactors) to see them; never produced to light but by violence, and convinced, upon records written in bloud, the occasioners of violence in the World; which have infected the surface of their native earth with deformity and sterility (these Mines being fit emblemes of mindes covetous, stored with want, and ever wanting their owne store) her bowels with darknesse, damps, deaths, causing trouble to the neighbour Regions, and mischiefe to the remotest! Penurious mindes! Is there no riches but Gold Mines? Are Iron Mines neglected, rejected for hopes of Silver? What, and who else is the Alchymist, and impostor, which turnes the World, and Men, and all into Iron? And how much Iron-workes in Warres and Massacres hath American Gold and Silver wrought thorow all Christendome? Neither speake I this, as if our hopes were blasted, and growne deplorate and desperate this way, the Country being so little searched, and the remote in-land-Mountaines unknowne: but to shew the sordid tincture and base alloy of these Mine-mindes. Did not the Spanish Iron (tell me you

that contemne Iron-mines) draw to it the Indian Silver and Gold? I will not be a Prophet for Spaine from Virginia. But I cannot forget the wily apophthegme of the Pilots Boy in the Cacafuego, a great Ship laden with treasure taken in the South Sea, by Sir Francis Drake; who seeing the English Ordnance command such treasure from the Spanish Cacafuego; Our Ship, said he, shall be called the Cacaplata, and the English may be named the Cacafuego. I will not be so unmannerly to give you the homely English; it is enough that English Iron brought home the Spanish-Indian Silver and Gold. But let us consult with the wisest Councellour. Canaan, Abrahams promise, Israels inheritance, type of heaven, and joy of the earth! What were her riches? were they not the Grapes of Eshcol, the balme of Gilead, the Cedary neighbourhood of Libanus, the pastury vale of Jericho, the dewes of heaven, fertility of soile, temper of climat, the flowing (not with Golden Sands, but) with Milke and Hony (necessaries, and pleasures of life, not bottomelesse gulfes of lust) the commodious scituation for two Seas, and other things like (in how many inferiour?) to this of Virginia. What golden Country ever nourished with her naturall store the hundreth part of men, in so small a proportion of earth, as David there mustered, being 1100000. of Israel, and 500000.* of Juda, not reckoning the Tribes of Levi and Benjamin, all able men for warres? And after him, in a little part of that little Jehoshaphat (More I dare say then the Spaniards can finde in one hundred times so much, of their Mine lands, and choose their best in Peru, New Spaine, and the Ilands) the Scriptures containing an infallible muster-booke of 1160000. able Souldiers in his small territories?

[IV. ix. 1815.]

*Compare 2. Sam. 24. with 1. Chron. 21. It seemes that there were above two millions of men besides women and children.

That then is the richest Land which can feede most men, Man being a mortall God, the best part of the best earth, and visible end of the visible World. What remarkeable Gold or Silver Mines hath France, Belgia, Lumbardy, or other the richest peeces of Europe? what hath Babylonia, Mauritania, or other the best of Asia

and Africke? What this our fertile Mother England? Aske our late Travellers which saw so much of Spaine, the most famous part of Europe for Mynes of old, and inriched with the Mynes of the New World, if an Englishman needs to envy a Spaniard, or prefer a Spanish life and happinesse to his owne. Their old Mynes made them the servants of Rome and Carthage: and what their Mynes and mindes doe now I leave them to others. Once, as the Mynes are in barrennest soyle, and covetous men have least, even when they are had of most money (mediis ut Tantalus undis) so I have heard that in Spaine is lesse Gold and Silver, then in other parts of Europe, (I dare not mention the proportions) from both Spanish and English relation: their usuall money also (to meddle with no more) is of base mettall, and their greatest summes computed by Maravedis lesse then our later tokens: except which (devised for poorer uses of the poorest) England of long time knowes no base monyes: and hath seene plentie of Silver and Gold, of Wine and Oyle which (grow not in her) when Spaine, which produceth these, is fed with salads, and drinketh water, helped now and then with Hogges-kinne unsavoury Wine. The Indian Fountaines runne with golden and silver streames (sic vos non vobis) not to themselves, but into that Spanish Cisterne; and these Cisternes are like those of the London Water-house, which hath the Conduit Pipes alway open in the bottome, so that a thousand other Cisternes hold more water then it: so may it be said of the other; it is not Concha but Canalis, a Pipe rather then Cisterne, a Cash-keeper rather then Owner; and (which is spoken of better things) remaining poore, makes many rich. To proceed, are not Myners the most miserable of Slaves, toyled continually, and unto manifold deaths tired for others, in bringing to light those Treasures of darknesse, and living (if they live, or if that bee a life) in the suburbs of Hell, to make others dreame of Heaven? Yea Paradise, the modell of heaven, had in it no Minerals, nor was Adam in his innocency, or Noah after the Worlds

recovery, both Lords of all, employed in Mines, but (in those happy workes which Virginia inviteth England unto) in Vines, Gardening, and Husbandry. Neither let any man thinke that I pleade against the sourenesse of the Grapes, like the Foxe which could not reach them: but I seriously shew that they are calves and not men, which adore the golden Calfe, or Nabuchadnezzars great golden statue, as if the body were not more then raiment, and those things to be preferred to money, for whose sake mony (the creature of man; base Idolatry where the Creator worships his creature!) was first ordained, and still hath both use and being.

Doe we not see in this respect, that the Silkes, Calicos, Drugges, and Spices of the East swallow up (not to mention the Belgian whirlepoole) all the Mines of the West? and that one Carricke carrieth more Rials thither, then perhaps some whole Region in Spaine retaineth for vulgar use? And whence are English, Portugals, or Dutchmen fitted for that commerce? as if America had ominously (for other just reason there is none) beene called India, as if the West were but drudge and factor for the East. And what hath dispeopled the New World, not leaving in some places one of Millions, but Auri sacra fames, others killing them in the Mines, or they killing themselves to prevent the Mines? Let it be riches enough, that Sir Thomas Dale testified by Letters from thence, and after his returne to me that foure of the best Kingdomes of Christendome were not for naturall endowments comparable to Virginia: and which I have heard of one which hath travelled in all the best Regions of Europe, and hath seene more of Virginia then perhaps any man else, and which needes not speake for any gaine there or thence gotten, as no reputed favourite or favourer of that Society and their actions; that he hath seene no Country to be preferred for soile, nor for commodious Rivers to be compared.

Virginias high valuation.

Cap. Joh. Smith.

And if successe hath not beene correspondent to English hopes: who seeth not the causes of those diseasters?

Answer to the objected ill successes and causes thereof.

Division that taile-headed Amphisbæna and many-headed monster, deformed issue of that difformed old Serpent, in some of the Colony there & Company here, hath from time to time thrust in her forged venomous tongue, wherby they have swolne with deadly poison of great thoughts of heart (onely by pride doe men make contention) with blinde-staring eyes of self-love abounding in their own sense: whence suspicions, jealousies, factions, partialities to friends and dependants, wilfull obstinacies, and other furious passions have transported men from Virginias good and their owne. Covetousnesse hath distorted others to minde earth and not heaven, in hastinesse of more then speedy returne and present gaine, forgetting that Godlinesse is the best gaine, and that they are planting a Colony, not reaping a harvest, for a publike and not (but in subordinate order) private wealth. A long time Virginia was thought to be much encombered with Englands excrements, some vicious persons, as corrupt levin sowring, or as plague sores infecting others, and that Colony was made a Port Exquiline for such as by ordure or vomit were by good order and physicke worthy to be evacuated from This Body: whence not only lazie drones did not further the Plantation, but wicked Waspes with sharking, and the worst, that is beggerly tyrants, frustrated and supplanted the labours of others. Cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt. A prodigious Prodigall here, is not easily metamorphosed in a Virginian passage to a thrifty Planter: nor can there neede wiser choise or more industrious course in any undertaking, then is requisite in a Christian Colonies plantation amongst Infidels. Which I suppose hath beene carefully by many Adventurers practised: and whatsoever faults happened by ignorance in the beginnings, neglect of seasons, riot, sloath, occasionall wants of or in Governours or Government, abuses of Mariners, trechery of Fugitives, and Savages; and other diseases, which have in part attended all new Plantations, and consumed many: experience I hope by this time

Jud. 5116. *Prov.* 13. 10. 1. *Tim.* 6. [IV. ix. 1816.]

hath taught to prevent or remedy. The late barbarous Massacre (hinc illæ lachrymæ) still bleedeth, and when things were reported to be in better forwardnesse then ever, in great part blasted those hopefull blossomes, disjointed the proceedings in the Iron workes, Vineyards, Mulberry plants; and in sudden shifts for life, exposed them to manifold necessities; insomuch, that many of the Principals being slain, the rest surprised with feare, reduced themselves almost from eighty to eight Plantations, whereby pestered with multitude, and destitute of Corne and other forsaken necessaries, they incurred a grievous and generall sicknesse, which being increased by infection of some passengers tainted in their Ship-passage with corrupt Beere, there followed a mortality which consumed about five hundred persons, besides three hundred and fifty or thereabouts murthered in that Savage-Massacre. All which notwithstanding, there remaine, some have if truely calculated and conjectured eighteene hundred persons: for whose security and provision it hath pleased his Majesty to have a Royall care, as likewise the Honorable Lords of his Majesties privy Councell, besides the honorable endevours of the Councell and well affected members of that Society, which God almighty, the great Founder of Colonies, prosper.

The massacre hath been the chiefe cause of later miscarying.

This number of 1800. was presented by the Companie to the Lords of the Councell.

Now that I may shew Virginia worthy those princely, honorable and industrious thoughts, I have adventured briefely to point out, rather then to paint out her beauty and attractive ornaments.

Arguments for Virginian plantation, as being honorable.

First Religion (as is before observed) inviteth us there to seeke the Kingdome of God first, and all other things shall be ministred to us, and added as advantage to the bargaine: seeke the Kingdome of God, and see an earthly Kingdome in recompence, as the earnest, and the heavenly Kingdome for our full paiment. Of glorifying God in his word and workes in this designe is already spoken.

1. *Religion.*

Secondly, Humanity and our common Nature forbids to turne our eyes from our owne flesh; yea commands us to love our neighbours as our selves, and to play the

2. *Humanitie.*

good Samaritan with these our neighbours (though of another Nation and Religion, as the wounded Jew was to him) to recover them if it be possible, as by Religion, from the power of Sathan to God; so by humanity and civility from Barbarisme and Savagenesse to good manners and humaine polity.

3. *Honor of the English Nation.* Thirdly, the Honour of our Nation enjoyneth us not basely to loose the glory of our forefathers acts, which here have beene shewed in King Henry the seventh, King Henry the eight, King Edward the sixt, and Queene Elizabeths times, all which illustrated their names by Discovery of Realmes remote, unknowne parts and ports (and the first, first of all Kings, and the last holding to the last) Discovering and possessing these, and leaving them as just inheritance to his Majesty. What shame to a degenerate posterity, to loose so honorable a claime, and gaine; yea, to neglect that which many English have purchased with doing and suffering so much, and not with their sweate alone, their care and cost, but with their deerest bloud and manifold deaths?

4. *Honour of the King.* Fourthly, wee may reckon the Honour of our King, and his Royall posterity: to which, in time Virginia may performe as much with equall manuring as ever Britannia and Ireland could promise when first they became knowne to the then civiller World. And were not comparisons odious! I am sure I heard Sir Thomas Dale confidently and seriously exulting in private conference with me, in the hopes of future greatnesse from Virginia, to the English Crowne. And if the wise King wisely said, the honour of a King is in the multitude of his Subjects, loe here the way to preserve, employ, encrease them; and for his Majesty to reach his long royall armes to another World. The Roman Empire sowed Roman Colonies thorow the World, as the most naturall and artificiall way to win and hold the World Romaine.

5. *Honor of the Kingdome.* Fifthly, the honour of the Kingdome, thus growing and multiplying into Kingdomes, that as Scotland and England seeme sisters, so Virginia, New England, New

found Land in the Continent already planted in part with English Colonies, together with Bermuda, and other Ilands may be the adopted and legall Daughters of England. An honorable designe, to which Honor stretcheth her faire hand, the five fingers whereof are adorned with such precious Rings, each enriched with invaluable Jewels of Religion, Humanity, Inheritance, the King, the Kingdome: Honos alit artes, omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloria.

[IV. ix. 1817.]

6. Argument of profit, generally propounded.

And if Honour hath prevailed with honorable and higher spirits, we shall come laden with arguments of profit to presse meaner hands and hearts to the service of Virginia. Onely I desire that men bring their hearts first, and consider that the very names of a Colony and Plantation doe import a reasonable and seasonable culture, and planting before a Harvest and Vintage can be expected: which if they here exercise our Faith and Hope both for earth and heaven, where all things are prepared; let us not in ruder and cruder foundations and beginnings there, precipitate unto hasty fals.

Illustrated by the Castilian greatnesse.

And before we come to Virginias particular probabilities for this Kingdomes good, we need not far fetched speculations, we have evidence from experience. Castile (a Kingdome which now stoops to none, and which some of her flatterers advance above all, making it Catholike without respect to Faith) grew from an almost nothing out of the Moorish deluge, to be but a pettie something in comparison of others in Europe, till Ferdinands time who sent Columbus to America. And how poore abilities or probabilities had they for it, when Columbus upon false grounds having conceived strong, strange hopes of the Easterne Indies, stumbled upon a Westerne World whereof hee never dreamed, which therefore he called India, and Hispaniola Ophir: to which Expedition (neither founded on sound reason, nor experience of former Discoveries, when as yet the Mariners Art was but crept out of the Cradle, and blessed only in the Event) the state of Castile was as poorely furnished as

Upon lesse probabilities.

it seemes, eyther with money or credit, the Queene pawning part of her Jewels for 2000. Duckets, to set Columbus forth with three poore Carvels for this Discovery. Little was it then imagined, that in Hispaniola should be found (which happened in the taking of Domingo by Sir Francis Drake) a Spanish Scutchion with a Horse, whose hinder feet trod on the Globe, his fore-feet prauncing as if he would foot out another World (like Alexander hearing Philosophers discourse of other Worlds, weeping that hee had not yet finished the conquest of this) having this Motto annexed, Non sufficit Orbis. Yea, but they found Gold and Silver in abundance? the Pockes they did! and plagued all Europe with the great ones, with the small consuming America: and if they did find Gold and Silver, how poore were the proportions till the Mexican Discovery almost thirty yeeres, and that of Peru forty yeeres after their Indian plantation. And who knowes what Virginia in that space may produce by better Discovery of it, and further Discovery of parts adjoyning, whereof we have ten thousand times more pregnant hopes, then they had in their first Expedition, by knowledge gathered from their Discoveries.

See Oviedo & our sixth Book.

Besides, though Gold and Silver from thence hath enriched the Spanish Exchequer, yet the Magazines have found other and greater wealth, whereof Virginia is no lesse capeable, namely, the Countrey Commodities. What Mynes have they, or at least, what doe they use in Brasill, or in all the Ilands, where yet so many wealthy Spaniards and Portugalls inhabit? Their Ginger, Sugar, Hides, Tobacco and other Merchandize, I dare boldly affirme, yeeld far far more profit to the generalitie of the Spanish Subjects thorow that vast World, then the Mynes do or have done this last Age. Which I shall make apparant by honourable testimonie, in one of the last English Exploits on the Spanish Indies. The Right Honorable Earle of Cumberland in a Letter of his after the taking of Port Rico, (chiefe Towne if not the greatest Iland in those parts, and far short of Hispaniola and Cuba)

Their greatest benefit in commodities, not in Mines, to the common subject.

affirmeth, that if hee would have left the place, hee might have had by good account as much Sugar and Ginger in the Countrey, as was worth 500000. pounds. But he intended to keepe it, as the Key of the Indies, which who soever possesseth (I use his owne words) may at his pleasure goe to any Chamber in the House, and see how they sleepe before hee be either stopped or descried: so as they must at every doore keepe so great a force to guard them, as will consume a great part of their yeerely Revenue; and send it from place to place with so great a wastage, as will cause them to curse their new Porter: for when they have done what they can, they shall beare his charge to their owne destructions, and still be loosing places both of strength and wealth. Thus that valorous and renowmed Earle, whose bloud ennobled his attempts, whose attempts added glory to his bloud, and noblenesse to his Nobilitie: which I rather recite that you might see the great wealth which the Spaniards reape of Ginger and Sugar, to which that of Hides in that Iland holds such proportion, that one inhabitant thereof named Cherigo, had no fewer then twelve thousand Beeves: where Beeves growing wild, it was tolerable to any Ilander to kill a beast, if hee returned the skinne to the Owner: and what he speakes of a Key and a Porters advantage, Mutato nomine de te, change the name, and if Virginia and Summer Ilands fall short some wayes, they will, more then equall it other wayes, in Case! But I must containe my selfe, lest I purchase a Purchas Case for medling.

The Earle had purposed to leave Sir John Barkley with a Garrison to hold it, but a great sicknesse and mortalitie consuming most of his men, he was forced to leave the place, to bring home his ships. I finde this in a written Extract of all the Ports, shipping Cities, Men, &c. of Spaine, which sometimes belonged to that industrious Gentleman M. W. Burrough Controller of the Navie.

Now if any shall thinke that the many transplantations of people into those parts, would exhaust England, Spaine will answere that point also, now in these dayes complayning no more of scarcitie of people (notwithstanding their many and long Warres in so many parts of Europe, except the expulsion of the Moores and Marans, have caused it) then when first they undertooke those consuming vast Enterprizes, not of a Virginia, but of a World. And yet what in comparison is Spaine for multitudes of people, whose vastnesse is said to yeeld

(the King, Dukes, Marquesses and Earles only with their retinue excepted) from eighteene yeeres of age to fiftie, but 1125390. men of all sorts, as I have seene in an [IV. ix. 1818.] Extract of the Royall Muster-booke, which how much is it exceeded by the numerous excesse of people in this Iland, straitned in farre lesse roome, and wanting necessary employments, which almost exacteth a Virginian vent and adventure. For how much more convenient is a transmigration, into a fruitfull, large and wholesome Region, where the Countrie hath need of a Colonie to cultivate it, as well as those Coloni and Inhabitants have need of a Countrie to inhabit rather then to breed a fulnes in This Bodie, which without some such evacuation either breeds matter for the pestilence and other Epidemicall Diseases, or at least for Dearth, Famine, Disorders, overburthening the wealthier, oppressing the poorer, disquieting both themselves and others, that I mention not the fatall hand of the Hangman? And thus you have Virginias hopes in generall propounded by Spanish example urged and enforced by our necessitie of seeking vent to such home-fulnesse.

Arg. 7. from necessitie by our multitudes.

Arguments of particular comodities and commodiousnesse.

But looke upon Virginia; view her lovely lookes (howsoever like a modest Virgin she is now vailed with wild Coverts and shadie Woods, expecting rather ravishment then Mariage from her Native Savages) survay her Heavens, Elements, Situation; her divisions by armes of Bayes and Rivers into so goodly and well proportioned limmes and members; her Virgin portion nothing empaired, nay not yet improoved, in Natures best Legacies; the neighbouring Regions and Seas so commodious and obsequious; her opportunities for offence and defence; and in all these you shall see, that she is worth the wooing and loves of the best Husband. First, for her Heavens and Climate, she with her Virgin Sisters hath the same (being extended from 30. to 45. degrees of North latitude) with the best parts of Europe, namely the fat of Græcia, Thracia, Spaine, Italie, Morea, Sicilia, (and if we will looke more Northward to the height of

France and Britaine, there her Sisters New England, New Scotland, and New-found-land, promise hopefull and kinde entertainment to all Adventurers. If you looke Southwards, you may parallel it with Barbarie, Egypt, and the fertilest parts of Africke) and in Asia, all that Chuersonessus, sometime the seate of foure thousand Cities, and so many Kingdomes, now called Natolia, with her Neighbours Antiochia, and other Regions of Syria, Damascus, Libanus, with Babylonia and the glorie of the Earth: and Types of Heaven, Judea and Paradise; the Silken Countries also of Persia, China in her best parts, and Japan, are in the elevation; and Virginia is Daughter of the same Heavens, which promise no lesse portion to this Virgin, then those Matrons had for the foundation-stock of their wealth and glory.

1. *The same climate with best Countries.*

Secondly, this Climate as it promiseth wealth, so it doth health also, enjoying the temper of the most temperate parts, even of that in which Adam, Abraham, with the Prophets and Apostles were bred in, and received as an Earthly priviledge; and in which Christ conversed in the flesh. And thirdly for extension, if covetousnesse gape wide, ten Judæas, and a hundred Paradises, may be equalled for quantitie in Virginia, whose mid-land Regions are wholly unknowne, till we arrive at that Nova Albion, which yeelded it selfe English before the first Virginian plantation.

2. *Temperate.*

3. *Large extension.*

Fourthly for commodious divisions, the Lands and Seas contend by fresh Rivers and Armes of the Sea so to diversifie the soyle as if in luxuriant wantonnesse they were alway engendring manifold Twinnes of Commoditie and Commodiousnesse, Profit and Pleasure, Hunting and Fishing, Fruits and Merchandizing, Marinership and Husbandry, Opus and Usus, Meate and Drinke, Wares and Portage, Defending and Offending, Getting and Keeping, Mountaines and Valleyes, Plaines and Hillocks, Rivers Navigable and shallower Foords, Ilands and Landiles (or Peninsulæ) Woods and Marishes, Vegetatives and living creatures marvellously diversified. Looke on the

4. *Commodious division of Lands and Rivers.*

Map, and tell me if any Countrey in the World promiseth more by the lookes then it. Yea I have observed in the Letters of greatest Malcontents from thence, foe and friend and themselves are blamed rather then the Countrey, the least finger of Virginias hand (I meane the least of five Rivers, or as Master Alexander Whitakers relateth, the least of seven) in a small part of that great Countrie, is bigger then the First-borne of Britaines waters, the famous Thames, all Navigable, some one hundred miles, some one hundred and sixtie, receiving Tributes by the way of innumerable Springs, Brookes, Riverets (such as that of Ware, and fit for portage of Wares in smaller Barkes, of which kind James River hath five Attendants in ordinary) the fall of every one of the five is within twentie or fifteene miles of some other: and not above fifteene miles in some places is the Great River of Roanoke said to be distant from some of those which fall into James River, yeelding a commodious intercourse twixt those Southerly and these more Northerly parts of the Countrey. I know not how Nature hath here also wantonized and danced a Loath to depart in the winding of those Streames, which seeme willingly againe and againe to embrace that beloved Soile, and to present her with rich Collers of silver Esses, murmuring that they must leave so fresh and fertile a Land, of which at last with Salt teares they take their leave, but contracting with their New Sea Lord to visit their old Land-lord and former Love every Floud. Meane whiles those many impetuous clippings and sweet embraces, searching refuges every way make shew as if they would meet together in consultation, and agree on some Conspiracie, which howsoever disappointed, yeeld neverthelesse many conveniences of entercourse and easier portage, each River comming within foure, eight, ten miles, more or fewer in divers places of another. All these Rivers runne into a faire Bay, on which the Earth every way is a greedie gazing Spectator, except where the Ocean rusheth in to ravish her beauties, flowing neere two hundred miles into it, and forcing a Channell one

[IV. ix. 1819.] *Bay of Chesepeake.*

hundred and fortie, of depth betwixt seven and fifteene fathome, and ten or fourteene miles in ordinary breadth. The Earth yet undermining it by Ilands, and mustering those River Captaines and innumerable Springs and Brookes, maintaineth his fresh challenge with continuall Warres, forcing backe the Ocean every Ebbe to retire, which yet loth to lose so sweete a possession returneth within few houres, freshly flowing with Salt reenforcements.

Fifthly, the soile is blessed, every Element bestowing a rich portion on her. The fire hath treasures laid up to maintaine her fewell unto prodigality (yea which seldome meete, a thriftie prodigality) for many yeeres. Her store of waters you have heard, but not her watery store of fishes unto incredibility in kinds, goodnesse, numbers. The Aire is no lesse luxuriant in the Fowles of Heaven. But the Earth (fruitfull Mother of Mankind) she is prodigiously prodigall, in fatnesse of the soile; talnesse, sweetnesse, strength, varietie, numberlesse numbers of her Trees: her Oakes no lesse excellent then frequent, many of them bearing two foote and an halfe square of good Timber twenty yards long: of which also are divers kinds. Elmes and Ashes (of which Sope-ashes are made) Wal-nuts in three sorts, Cypresses (or much resembling them) Cedars and other sweet smelling Timbers, Chestnuts, Plummes of divers sorts, Cheries and other Trees, &c. reckoned by Virginian Relators, I omit. But most remarkable and promising are the Mulberie and the Vine, the one to the backe, the other to the belly, yeelding Silkes and Wine.

5. *Fertile soile*

6. *Trees for timber and other uses many.*

As for Silke, how great profits are raised thereof to the Chinois and Persian? Yea to come neerer, in Naples and other parts of Italy, which have provoked France to a generall imitation. And how unvaluable are the expenses of this Kingdome for that materiall, Ut matronæ in publico luceant? Likewise for Wines from France, Spaine, Germanie, and other parts how many thousands are yeerely expended to the profits of Strangers, that I

7. *Specially for Silkes.*

8. *And for Wines.*

say not to enemies, or at least to suspected friends? It hath pleased his Majestie to take these two into his Princely consideration and by his Letter to the Right Honorable the Earle of Southampton, and the Company of Virginia to commend and command this care to them.

July 9. *A.R.* 20. *See sup. c.* 15.

The Countrey it selfe naturally produceth Vines in great abundance, and some of a very good sort: divers plants also have beene sent thither of the better kinds of Christendome, with eight Vignerons procured from Languedock for the husbanding of that commoditie. The Soyle is no lesse naturally happy in Mulberie Trees of the best kind and some Silke-wormes also: and generall order hath beene taken for the abundant planting of them in all places inhabited: large supply also of Silke-wormeseed from his Majesties store, and men skilfull in that kind for the well ordering of that businesse have beene sent. In a word, the very prosperity and pregnant hopes of that Plantation made the Devil and his lims to envy, feare and hate it. Hence that bloudy Massacre which caused almost a sudden Chaos to the hinderance of those affaires, by the convulsions, combustions, and almost confusion of that Body and their Designes: whereof yet we hope not only a recovery but greater advantage, the greatest danger from the Savages, growing out of our mens confidence, which that terrible stroke (except a stupid Devill possesse us) hath cut off; which likewise requires that servile natures be servily used; that future dangers be prevented by the extirpation of the more dangerous, and commodities also raised out of the servilenesse and serviceablenesse of the rest.

9. *Just advantage from the Savages to make use of their labours.*

As for Sassafras, Salt, Terra Lemnia, Gummes and other profitable Drugges I shall not neede speake: nor of their Silke-grasse naturally growing, besides a kind of Hempe or Flaxe, yeelding most excellent Cordage. Pot-ashes, Sope-ashes, Pitch and Tarre have beene the employment of Polacres sent thither.

10. *Drugs, and divers other commodities.*

In foure yeeres space before the Massacre (the Iron Oare of Virginia being found very good and very

11. *Iron mines.*

plentifull) above five thousand pounds were spent, and one hundred and fiftie persons sent for that imployment; which being brought in manner to perfection, was interrupted by that fatall accident, since which the restitution is with all possible diligence (as it is said) ordered and furthered.

12. *Timber for all uses.*

There have beene also sent skilfull men from Germany, for setting up of Saw-mils: Virginia yeelding to no place in the knowne World for Timbers of all sorts, commodious for strength, pleasant for sweetnesse, specious for colours, spacious for largenesse, usefull for Land and Sea, for housing and shipping: in which Timber uses England and Holland alone are said to disburse about 300000. pounds sterling yeerely. And the defects at home, where the Hearth hath climbed into the Roofe, where back-fewell hath devoured our buildings in the Woods, and belly-fewell hath devoured the Woods, and converted them to arable: where so many ships are employed for provisions of and for shipping, Virginia by divine bountie is Magnæ spes altera Britanniæ. Herein we may verifie the old Proverbe, That he which liveth longest, shall fetch his wood furthest; but so, as he shall be paid for the fetching with great advantage.

13. *More especially for building both houses & ships.*

And if an Iland needs woodden Wals to secure it against others, to enrich it from others, Virginia offers her service herein, and will looke so much more cheerefully on you, how much more you shall disburthen her in this kind: yea, as England hath wooed and visited Virginia, so herein Virginia will be glad and rejoyce to visit England, in her there-built ships, and to dwell here with us in thence-brought Timbers, and esteeme her selfe advanced to adorne our Towres, and take view of our Pomps and Spectacles.

[IV. ix. 1820.]

14. *The manifold materialls for shipping.*

And touching shipping and the materials thereof; Timbers, Pitch, Tarre, Cordage, Sayles, Anchors, &c. necessitie of the times exacteth in our defects at home, for securitie from enemies abroad, employment of Mariners, Merchants and our numerous multitudes,

offending our Offenders, defending our Allies, that I adde not the Riches of the World, and glory of Exploits, all which depend on Navigation. Hence Tyrus and her Daughter Carthage of old (Matre pulchrâ filia pulchrior) hence the Egyptian Alexandria and many Nations since, have reaped wealth and honour. Hence the Lumbards and Easterlings sucked out the sweetes of this Kingdome in former times, whiles we like children were fed by their hands, and they were inriched by the Importation and Exportation of Merchandise to and from us: which when that glorious Elizabeth altered, and sought to stand in the Seas on her owne legs, and to flie over them with her owne wings, it not only wanne her renowne but dread abroad, and such strength at home, that notwithstanding her manifold wars offensive and defensive, and motherly protection of her Neighbours round about with Men and Monies; her Custome, her Navie, and the wealth of her people is thought to have received in her time a seven-fold advancement. And what hath so long upholden and enhanced the Hanse Townes? What hath raysed the rich and glorious States of Venice and Genoa? What hath since freed, and doth still sustaine the Hollanders, but their moving Magazines and Castles, their strength and magnificence being (by a Miracle in State) hereby most, wherein it is least, in their Sea-forrests; Nature denying that to their Soyle, which Art hath super-abundantly supplied by shipping, to their Lands, to their Seas, for use, for admiration? Hence hath the Abassine or Prester John lost his estate, the Turke not encreased his by swallowing the rest of Christendome, the Persian, the Mogull and other mighty Asian Potentates have not bin mighty, howsoever sirnamed Great; have beene so long awed, and as it were, imprisoned within their owne shores, there also often braved, assaulted, forced to receive Lawes and conditions, yea to pay Customes for their owne ships, and prohibited Trade with others by a handfull of Portugalls. Hence the Portugals themselves crept out of their Straites and obscuritie, and hence the Castilian

colours have been so far displayed, and set the rest of the World in this present Maze: Hence our Edgar, Edward the Third, and Great Elizabeth, have left such memories of them, after them; hence all Maritime States and Kings have received encrease or diminishing; as their Navies have beene, so have they. Yea, without a Navie, Salomon had not beene so meet a Type of Christ, so glorious in Domesticall, Politicall or Ecclesiasticall magnificence.

Haile then, al-haile Virginia, hope of our decayed Forrests, Nursery of our Timbers, second supply to our shipping, the succenturiatæ copiæ in distresse of Navall materials: and those independant on forreine States, disburthened of Taxes, Customes, Impositions, and Suspensions of forreine Princes: yea gainfull not in the ships alone, but in Shipmen and Mariners trained up and multiplyed by that imployment, with mutuall entercourse of Wares and manifold Commodities. Hee that lookes on the best Corne-fields soone after the sowing, seeth expense and labour without any profit but in expectation. Now is our Seed-time; and if cost and industry want not, Virginia, in her Soyle and Climate not only promiseth these materials, there also to be made at easier rates; but infinite other Commodities also which may be transplanted from these and other parts, as the Spaniards in their Indies, have given us example. These have reserved Wines and Oyle, as Staple Commodities to be carried from Spaine (that these Americans may still have need of Spanish Commodities) which else would easily grow there. They have againe furnished those parts both from Spaine and many other Countries, with Figs, Oranges, Limons, and fruits for present use and for Merchandize, with Sugar-canes, Gingers, Cattell and other Commodities, yeelding exceeding summes of Treasure to the Planters. And I know not but in a settled Virginian Plantation, Sugars, Gingers, Hides, &c. may there proove as gainfull, as they have in the Spanish Indies, that is, beyond all conceit of ordinarie valuation, and as good as many Mynes.

15. *Saving of expenses and freeing from dangers in forreine Countries.*

16. *Imployment and breeding of Mariners.*

17. *Many probabilities by transplantation of cattell, fruits, &c. exemplified by Spaniards.*

18. *The Countrie, cattell & beasts not only for use there but Merchandise here.*

Now for the Cattell and Fowles, I might here present

their Deere of all sorts, reported to have three or foure Fawnes at a time, and none under two (which some impute to the qualitie of that Countrey, having happened likewise to the Goats transported from hence) and were it not for this increase, eyther they must faile, or the Natives (these sparing neither old nor young, nor old with young, nor observing any rule of Season or Reason therein) I might adde Shag-haired Oxen-seene by Sir Samuell Argoll, Beavers, Otters, Foxes, Wilde and Civet Cats, Muske Rats, and many Beasts which beare good Furres; their large Turkeyes, Cranes, Herons, Partridges, and innumerable other Fowles: fish also of innumerable numbers and manifold kinds, Sturgeon, Porpose, Base, Rock-fish, Carpe, Shad, and the rest. It seemeth to us incredible, which is related of the both numbers * and excellencie at one draught taken. As for the varietie of Corne, the excellencie also and multiplication to 1500. or 2000. for one stalke of Maiz, the usefulnesse, their succeeding-exceeding Harvests, their Roots, Herbs, Pulse, and the rest, I referre to all the Writers in that Argument, and to as many as have beene Eye-witnesses themselves to be Relaters.

**Cap. Smith tels of 1000. Bassses at a draught: M. Rolfe of 5000. the least of two foot long, 300. as big as Cod, by Sir T. Dale. [IV. ix. 1821.]*

Were it but a fishing trade, yet his understanding is contemptible, that thinkes contemptibly of it. He that should reade Doctor Dees relations of so many hundred Busses, and Flemmish saile on the English, and Spanish, on the Irish coasts: or what Master Gentleman hath related of the Commodities raised that way by the Holanders, summed to millions of pounds in Herring, Cod and Ling: and that which others relate of 3600. saile of Fishermen in Holand and Zeland, with other things of like nature gathered together by Captaine Smith in his New Englands Trials, with the experiments of that coast also part of our Virginian subject shall see, as greatest bodies composed of least parts, so greatest summes raised out of least and meanest meanes, that being dundant in tale, which seemeth wanting in weight. Once, the impregnable wals of the united Provinces are their Ships

19. Benefits by fishing. D. D. Brit. Monarchie.

Et qua non prosunt singula, multæ juvant.

(whereof some reckon small and great of all sorts 20000,) and their principall and most generall Trade is Fishing, which is the Seminary of their Mariners of which some have reckoned above 100000. and summed their returnes thence growing to 7000000. pounds in a yeare. I am none of Neptunes Secretaries; yet know this, that there is no fishing to the Sea, and no Country so strong by Sea as that which findeth most employment in this kinde, where no exportation of treasure, no custome, no consumption and exhausting of commodities can be quarelled. Thus then, whether we consider Wines, Silkes, and other the appurtenances of our pleasures, as Dies, Drugges, Gummes, Sugars, Ginger, Furres, and the like, which cost this Kingdome yearely some hundreths of thousands of our pounds: or whether wee reckon those more staple and necessary commodities for Shipping, and all sorts of Timber, Cordage, and other like, no lesse costly, Virginia inviteth our hopes, and covenanteth to bestow them on the industrious: so that we shall save those treasures and costs that way expended, shall lesse depend on other Nations, lesse feare imbarguing, detention, imposts; yea, shall from other Nations raise by returne of our excesse in these kindes great Summes, besides the furnishing of the Kingdome with greater encrease of Shipping, Marriners, and innumerable employments, and the securing and enriching the Ports, both of Ireland and England. As for Tobacco I have said little of it, because it is so generally knowne (which yet is said to be worth to Spaine 100000. pounds yearely; and that (I grieve to speak it) from the fume-fome-froth-spirits of England) & the abundance brought from Virginia and Summer Ilands (inopes nos cepia fecit) exceedeth the Market: and because to many by immoderate use thereof are corrupted here at home, and the present benefit thereby accrewing in quicke returne, hindreth designes of better consequence there. And thus much of Virginias present or very probable Commodities: to which we may adde the hopes in future times by finding there as good vent for our Wools and

20. *Tobacco. A Booke presented to the Parliament by Master Bennet. It is said that some maliciously father all their bad Tobacco on Virginia and Bermudas, and the good from thence, on Spanish growth.*

21. *Hopes of future Trade for clothes & other English commodities.*

Clothes, both to the English and civilized Indian, as the Spaniards doe in their Indies by their Wines and Oyle, of which I have already said that they permit not the generall growth in their Indian plantations for the continuance and necessitie of commerce with Spaine. And who seeth not the exceeding benefit which may arise by compleat commerce, in venting our owne superfluities of Men; of others, and specially the principall of English Commodities, Cloth and Wooll, with the Gospel of our Lord Jesus; and returning from thence, Clapboord, Pipe-staves, Caviare, Oade, Madder, Salt, Cordage, Pitch, Tarre, Sope-ashes, Pot-ashes, Cotton-wools, Gaules, Furres, Hops, Hides, Gummes, Dyes, Gingers, Sugars, Silkes, Wines, Iron, Timbers, Fish, Ships, Mariners, Merchants, and a World of the Worlds most useful good things thorow an open Sea, obnoxious to no forreine Potentate, from and to known and secure Ports and Harbours?

22. *Manifold necessities of these times.*

It is also not only usefull at all times, but necessary to these times, as to transport superfluous numbers from hence to Virginia, so to cure the diseases of the times caused by the wants of Monies (the life of trading, and sinewes of a great State) attended with wants of sale for the Merchant, and consequently of Clothiers and other subordinate professions; want of worke for Spinsters, Weavers, and innumerable poorer Trades and Handicraftsmen; want of trading for Citizens (neither hath such a generall breaking beene ever knowne,) so many shops in the principall limmes and streets of this Citie, yea, in Cheapside the faire face, yea, in the eye of that beauteous face, the Gold-Smiths Row (where besides so many shoppes converted to other Trades, I have told this last Winter betwixt Friday-street and Bread-street the third part shut up) want of employment for decayed Gentlemen, both the elder Unthrifts and younger Gallants; which want of moneyes and store of wants thence issuing, is in greatest part caused by the Merchandizes sought and bought in other Countries, whereby our Moneyes fall into

forraine Whirle-pooles without hopes of recovery; whereas if our Trade lay (as we see the Spanish) with our owne Colonies and Plantations else-where, wee should hold them still current in our owne Nation, and draw others to bring to us both Wares and Moneyes from other Regions for the Commodities aforesaid. And thus should the Vices of the Times be remedied, and the vices of men or vicious men finde from Tobacco, Silkes, Wines and other excesses (like the sting of Scorpions from the Oyle of Scorpions) a cure thence, whence they received their wounds; and so many ruptures should eyther be prevented or healed; provisions also procured for employment of honest and humble povertie at home, and the inordinate spirits of others tamed by the Sea, and trained at labour to better Discipline.

[IV. ix. 1822.]

23. *Necessarie for strengthening other Plantations.*

I adde further, that the prosecution of the Virginian Plantation, is both profitable and necessary for the strengthning of the Plantations already begun in Summer Ilands, New England, and New found Land, and that other expected in New Scotland.

24. *Probabilities of a South Sea passage & manie manie commodities thereby.*

Now if we adde the hopefull passage to the South Sea, that one argument is more then all the rest, if our eyes shall once be blessed with that desired sight. For the trade of the whole world is then made compendious, all the rich trades of the East Indies are obvious and neerer hand, and no force is able to scoure so large a Coast as that Westerne shoare of all America, and secure it from our trading. Hence, if we finde not golden Countries before not possessed by other Christians (whereof also Sir Francis Drakes Nova Albion so long since subjected by voluntary surrender to the English Crowne, hath given us hope) yet trade will bring the Mines of the West into our ships, and the Spices and other rich Merchandize of the East into our shops at easier charge, and therefore saleable at easier rates.

25. *Necessitie of maintaining Virginia in case of war forced by others.*

But this Designe of the South Sea may seeme desperate, and the Argument ridiculous. I shall therefore indevour to give better light therein, and withall to adde another

Argument as weightie as it, and greater then all exceptions.

I may adde also the case of Warre, which I desire not; but which may happen, and Bellona may even now seeme pregnant and alreadie conceived, whose abortion might be wished, if necessitie adde not honour to the lawfulnesse. I but propound a case possible. The most certaine, honorable, and beauteous front of Peace, hath a backe part of Warre, and therefore in securest Peace, Prudence is not so secure, but she armeth herselfe against feares of War, forewarning and forearming men by the Sword drawne to prevent the drawing of Swords, and eyther eschewes it, or reaps good out of it.

South Sea why so called.

It is not unknowne what expenses England hath sustained in, and ever since Sir Sebastian Cabots first Discoverie, as in those of Sir Hugh Willoughby, Burrough, Pet and Jackman by the North-east, of Hudson, Poole, Fotherby, and divers other Navigations by the North; of Sir Martine Frobusher, Captaine Davies, Sir Thomas Button, Master Knight, Hudson, Hall, Baffin, and other manifold Discoveries by the North-west, all seeking a compendious passage to Cathay, and to the East Indies. The Reasons which mooved them were far more hopefull then that of Columbus, which found notwithstanding far better and speedier successe. Successe is a servile Argument, for Sense rather then for Reason, and in this whole Virginian project, I speake to English Adventurers, and not to pettie Pedlers, or Virginian Savages, to such whose eyes are in their heads and not in their hands: Careat successibus opto, Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putet. Yet hath not Successe beene wholy frustrate, yea both Reason and Sense plead for a Passage, and Virginias usefulnesse therein.

I will not bring uncertaine testimonies of a Portugall taken in a Carrike in Queene Elizabeths dayes, and of another Portugall in Guinie, which affirmed to Sir Martine Frobusher that hee had past it; nor of Garcia Loaisa, which is said by the Coast of New-found-land to have

gone to the Moluccas; nor of Vasco Coronado in his Letter to the Emperour Charles, and other antiquated Witnesses of Antiquitie.

I have already in due place produced * Thomas Cowles, Juan de Fuca, Thomas Dermer, Sir Thomas Button, Master Brigges, besides the constant and generall report of all the Savages from Florida, to the great River of Canada. Now for the hopes of Virginia by a South-Sea Discovery, how neere is England that way to the Trade of both Indies, that is, of all the remoter World? It stands midway betwixt us and the most frequented Ports of the West, which perhaps may shortly come to full age and sue out her Liverie, how ever hitherto kept in close Wardship, and debarred the rights of common humanite, that is, the commerce with other Nations, without discerning Friend and Foe. Strange jealousie and worthy of jealous Suspicion! to admit Trade in all European Ports, not Sivill and Madrid excepted and to prohibit the same in all the East and West, where it can lesse be prohibited! there to repute all in nature of Pyrats, and accordingly to make prize of ships, goods, and men which shall attempt to sayle that vast Ocean, or offer Trade in any of those Habitations! But leaving that to consideration of my Betters, in the East both English and Dutch have maintayned their just Trade by force, which by unjust force was denied, and have paid themselves largely for all losses sustayned by the Insultings or Assaultings of those Monopolians, with gaine with honour: that trade being almost denied to those injurious deniers, their owne reputation and traffique now bleeding, which would have cut the throates of all others adventures, of all other adventurers. I neither prophesie, nor exhort unto the like in the West: Our prudent and potent Mother Elizabeth wan renowne and wealth in their owne harbours and Cities at home, and no lesse in the remotest of their Lands and Seas. Yea, the South Sea by furthest compasse was neere to her long and just armes, and their Cacaplata and Saint Anne, with other their richest Ships

*See sup. the end of the 4. Booke: & Dermers Letter in this.

and Ports were ransacked by English Cacafuegos, and the charges of those warres borne by those enemies which caused them. Nulla salus bello, pacem te poscimus omnes. He whose words and workes hath ever beene Beati pacifici, knowes best when and how to exact his and the Worlds right, in the World, of which God hath granted a Monopoly to no man; and (if others can embrace the whole Globe with dispersed habitations) not to suffer his long arme to be shortned, and the strong armes of his to be pinioned, and forced to accept of a bounded and limited commerce in a little corner at others pleasure. Once, in just and even peace, Virginia stands fit to become Englands Factor in America; if war should happen, both it and Bermuda are fit Sentinels and Scouts, yea fit Searchers and Customers, fit Watch-towers and Arsenals to maintaine right against all wrong-doers. And for the South Sea, if a passage be found neere unto Virginia, as Master Dermer was confident upon relations (as he writ to me) of a thousand witnesses, wee then see Virginias lap open, yeelding her Ports and Harbours for the Easterne treasures to be the neerest way conveied by the West. Yea if it be more remote, as Chacke and Fuca relate, yet hath Virginia an usefull neighbourhood both for sicke men, weatherbeaten Ships, and provisions exhaust in long Voyages, to make them fitter for returne. And if such passage were not at all, yet the Mountaines of Virginia cannot but send Rivers to that Sea; so that as the wealth of Peru is brought to Panama, and thence by Land convaied to the Ports of this Sea, so may the wealth of the South Sea, and the Regions of the West of America be that way passed to English hands. The like may be said of the Ilands of Salomon, the South unknowne Continent, which aftertimes may discover (probably as rich as the rest) that I mention not the knowne Regions of the East already traded. And although the passage be not yet perfectly knowne, yet may the seasons and fittest opportunities and provisions for that discovery be most easie from Virginia: and there, if crossed with

[IV. ix. 1823.]

stormes or other disasters, they may finde securest refuge and refreshing. An if (which God avert) we may not have the wares of peace, yet the peace of warres (that is, a fit rendevous and retiring place, where to cheere and hearten, to repaire and supply upon all occasions) is there offered by the advantages of both Seas. For in both, that vast body must needes be of slow motion, where the limmes are so disjoynted, and one member unfit to helpe another by remotenesse. And if it should but force the adversary to maintaine Garrisons in his Ports on both sides, to secure them from invasion, and a double Navie of War in both Seas, the one to secure the Coasts, the other to secure his Shippes in the South Sea passing from the Philippinas, or from one Port to another; and in the North Sea to wafte his Treasures and Merchandise into Europe, the wings of that Eagle would be so pulled with such costs, that hee could not easily make invasive flight upon his neighbours in these parts; yea, both those and these Dominions would be exposed to the easier invasions of others. Tam Marte, quam Mercurio, in Peace and Warre, so usefull may Virginia and Bermuda be to this Kingdome.

Now if any say Medice cura teipsum, and alleadge that they themselves are not able to stand against an enemy: I answere, first, for Bermuda, or Summer Ilands, that little body is all heart, and hath the strength of Nature and Art conspiring her impregnablenesse. For the Rockes every way have so fortified the scituation, that she would laugh at an Armada, at a World of Ships; where the straight passage admits not two Ships abreast to enter, and hath ten Forts with Ordnance to entertaine them. She feares no ravishment, and as little needes she famishment, so that unlesse God for our sinnes, or the Divell by the worst of sinnes, treason, and the worst of his Sonnes, some Judas, expose her to the Enemy, she can know no other love or Lord but English. And for Virginia against the Savages greatest fright, Captaine Smith maintained himselfe without losse, with gaine with

thirty eight men: against others she hath so fit places for fortification; so fit meanes and materials to secure her, as eye-witnesses report, that the worst of enemies to be feared is English backwardnesse or frowardnesse, like Sampsons Foxes either drawing backe, or having fire at their tongues ends.

Now if Queene Elizabeth of glorious memory, were able from England onely to annoy her enemies, so great and potent, so much and farre: what may we in Gods name hope of a New England, New found Land, Bermuda, and Virginia already planted with English? When upon newes of the fall of that great Northen Starre, the Duke of Braganzas brother spake of her as the Jesuites had slandered; hold your peace brother, said the Duke himselfe (one * then present related this to me) had it not beene for her Religion (for which wee most honour her, for which God did most blesse her) she might justly have beene ranked with the ancients Romans: England is a small thing, as the Map sheweth, to Spaine, and yet we durst not looke out of doores for her and hers. Thus worthily that worthy man, of the Worthy of women in her time. Great and glorious Elizabeth! how didst thou contemne the Iberian threates? How didst thou invert, divert, subvert their attempts? How victoriously didst thou evade their invincible Invasion? how didst thou invade the Invaders, at their gates, in their ports? how didst thou meete them in the Atlanticke, pursue them to the South, to the Indian Seas, and round about the World? How did the skie, windes, waves serve to a higher providence in thy deliveries, in thy triumphs? how often were the prodigious Carrikes of the East, and prodigall Vessels of the West, either staid at home for feare, or driven to fort-covert by the way, or costly wafted on their way, or burned in the way, or sunke out of the way, or carried quite away to visite the English shoares, and adorne the Trophees of great and glorious Elizabeth? Rouze up your brave spirits English hearts in loyall subjection to your Royall Soveraign: be ready to offer

**M. Thomas Turner an English Merchant living then in Portugall in name of an Almaine.*

Q. Elizabeths praises.

right, feare not to suffer wrong: seeke the good, and see the goods which Virginia offers. Here could I wilder my selfe in thickets of arguments, and could Muster more motives and more necessarily concluding for Virginias advancement, if that which we desire not be enforced on us, then I have already numbred in plantation and commerce: Yea almost all those former arguments are pressed of necessity, or offer their service voluntarily, some more, others no lesse serviceable that way, then to publike peace and traffique, which also are securest when they neede not feare a Warre. [IV. ix. 1824.]

The honour of Religion defended by the Defender of the Faith; of our Nation, King, Kingdome; the Materials of Ships, Mariners, Armes, Victuals; Fishing, Merchandise, and Prize subservient to each Voyage, that one may supply if the other faile; in crossed Voyages, a convenient receptacle for refreshing; fit place of stay in not fitting and unseasonable seasons: a safe repository for spoiles gotten in expectation of greater purchase: a redresse to weatherbeaten and storme-distressed Ships: a refuge to such as the enemy hath battered and endangered: an Hospitall for sicke, wounded, and presently unserviceable Mariners and Souldiers: a storehouse to repaire Timbers, Tackling, and other provisions, to Ships and Men: a fit meane (in supplying us from thence with necessaries) to keepe those Monies in our owne hands, whereby we are destitute of the principall sinewes of warre, yea perhaps the enemy armed against us: a schoole and training place for our youth to endure labour and hardship, and to prepare them like the Jewes in Nehemiahs time, to use the Sword with one hand, and instruments of labour in the other: an exercise to breede Men for longer Voiages: a backedoore to breake out suddenly on the enemy: an ambushment, whiles Ships from hence & thence shal at once be expected, and he which flees the one shall fall into the other: a redoubling of our forces when they meete: a safe harbour in Bermuda or in Virginia for a hundred sailes, or many more, to awaite all opportunities: a place

likely to yeelde to men of merit entertainment and reward: a place yeelding opportunity by trade there to weaken our possible or probable enemies, to whom now wee seeke for trade, and consequently to weaken them by the want of our Commodities, and to adde a double strength to our selves: a place commodious to prevent warre by diverting it, to divert it by preventing: to subvert the enemies Plantations by sudden assaults, or force them to costly Garisons: to evert their Merchandising by trade suspended, surprized, or defended with chargeable wastage: to intervert their intelligence and profits: to invert the hearts of Malecontents, and those hands which feare now curbeth and bridleth: to convert to our parts those which maintaine a fugitive and wilde enmity with them: to avert the profits of their Mines by other imployments: and in a word, to make that use of others against them, which their examples have taught us in acquiring the great Empires of Mexico and Peru, with other parts of America, which without the helpe of Indians against Indians, banding themselves with a contrary faction, such handfuls had never beene able to have effected: What shall I say more? If others impotence and importunities force a War, Virginia and Summer Ilands seeme to this English body as two American hands, eares, feete; two eyes for defence: two Keyes (as before is said) for offence: two Armes to get, encompasse, embrace: two Fists to strike: the Sword and Dagger; Ship and Pinnace; Castle and Rampire, Canon & Musket, Arsenale and Peere, and whatsoever God shall please to give to humaine industry, who gives all things of free grace, but to such to whom he hath given grace freely to seeke them; and is alway a facile and easie giver, but to them onely which love not their ease and idle pleasure. And although I am no Secretary of Gods Counsell for the Indies, yet event hath revealed thus much of his will, that no other Christian Nation hath yet gotten and maintained possession in those parts, but the English: to whom therefore wee may gather their decreed serviceablenesse in Peace, advantagi-

ousnesse in Warre, and opportunity for both, to be both Magazine and Bulwarke, and ready even by naturall scituation to sit on the skirts of whatsoever enemies, which passe from America to Europe.

Three Spanish witnesses, Acosta, Oviedo, and Herrera, have related this, in describing the course of that Navigation; yea, all experience, the Heavens also and Elements subscribe to it. For such is the statute of the windes, which all Shipping in that Sea must obey: they must goe one way and returne another. To the Indies the course from Europe is by the Canaries, and thence entring the Tropike, they meete with the Brises, which are perpetuall Easterne windes, or I know not what impetuosity by the motion of the heavens breathed into the lower aire betwixt the Tropikes, and pressing all vapours and exhalations unto that service in one or other point Easterly: which force the Ships to returne neerer the American coast there to seeke as it were some alloy of that impetuous motion (even as you see Water-men in the Thames rowing against the tide, to covet neere the shoare where the tide is weakest) and thence passing the Tropike to seeke Westerly windes, which from twenty seven to thirty seven doe there usually remaine, as wee see in Eddies caused by stronger motions. Thus the Spanish Ships on the South Sea make one way from Acapulco to the Philippinas, which is the Tropicke; and another without in the height of Japan, to returne. And thus in the Atlanticke the Ships from their severall ports come to the Havana in Cuba, and thence must take their course neere to Virginia and Summer Ilands, to finde the Azores: in which way, from thence it is easie for English Ships (not far from their owne home or Ports) to disperse themselves in expectation of a surprisall.

Acosta. l. 3. c. 4. 5. 6. 7. Oviedo Summary & Gen. hist. l. 2. Hereras. Descri. of Ind. c. 2. 3.

The brises and course of Navigation.

Eddy windes.

The want of such helpes in Queene Elizabeths glorious times, enforced our men of Warre still to awaite both for the Indian Carrickes, and all American Ships, hovering

[IV. ix. 1825.] *Disadvantage to our Ships of warre by want of some such Plantation as this is and may be: whence many Voyages were frustrated in part or wholly.*

about the Azores Ilands subject to the Spanish Crowne, where they neither had harbour in stormes, nor could in any wants refresh themselves with water, victuals, or other provisions but by force; where a greater and stronger Armada of the enemy waited to wafte home their Ships returning; where it often hapned that the Ships could not so soone be descried, but they gat either into some Port, and under some Fort which secured them; or else there ran themselves aground, and saving what they could with their persons, fired the rest, so to sacrifice it to Neptune or Vulcan, rather then permit it to English hands. Neither had the English any neere Port where to supply themselves in any distresse, or exhaustion of provisions, but must necessarily returne home for England, if not (as sometimes) perishing in the way, with little or perhaps no prize attained. Likewise in long Voyages, as to the East Indies, and to the South Sea, having no harbour to friend, every disease proved mortall to their Voyage, and forced at lest a returne, that is, a miscarrying of the designe, if not of themselves: whereas, such a refuge as Virginia and Summer Ilands might either have recovered the Voyage intended, or refreshed and inabled them to make as good a purchase upon the enemy, making him to pay their charges, perhaps with more gaine then the first intents could have produced. Examples will make this more evident.

S. Seb. Cabot.

And first to begin with the first of our great Discoverers; Sir Sebastian Cabot, and Sir Thomas Pert, were set forth by King Henry the eight (as before is mentioned) in a Voyage of American Discovery, a Ship of which Fleete comming from the coast of Brasil to Domingo (Oviedo mentions it in the Spanish stile, branding them with Piracy, yet laieth nothing to their charge but discovery and offer of trade, paying with Pewter dishes for what they tooke) was thence repelled Anno 1517. and obtained some provisions at Saint John, from whence in their returne to England, Oviedo thinkes they perished: at least the Voyage miscarried, as appeareth by Master

Anno 1517. *Oviedo. Gen. hist. l.* 19. *c.* 13.

Thornes and Master Edens testimony thereof, for want of provisions. The like happened to Master Hores Voyage, described in Master Hakluit Anno 1536. when want of victuals made them eate one another, and at last to steale a French Ship, in which they returned. *Master Hore.* 1536.

Anno 1564. Sir John Hawkins having made a profitable Voyage by sale of Negros on the coast Townes of America, was driven to seeke reliefe of the French (then planted in Florida, rooted thence not long after by Spanish butchery) And in another Voyage 1567. incurred by perfidious treachery of the Spaniards, a most lamentable disaster. He then sailed in the Jesus of Lubecke, having to his consorts, the Minion, the William and John, the Judith, the Angell and the Swallow. Having gotten Negros in Guinnee and made his market in the Spanish Indies, he put in for reliefe at Saint John de Ulhua, Whiles his Fleete was there, the Spanish Fleete came thither with their new Viceroy, which he could easily have kept out of the harbour, but there being then no Warres betwixt England and Spaine, certaine Articles were concluded betwixt them; from which the Viceroy perfidiously resulting, with close trechery (contrary to his faith plighted) assaulted the English with a strong power on the sudden: the issue whereof was the firing, drowning, taking many of the English, whom they put also to execrable tortures. Onely the Minion and Judith of that whole Fleete escaped, if it be an escaping to avoide Scylla and rush on Charibdis. For they were so shaken in fight first, after with stormes, lastly and worst of all, with famine, that they were forced to expose a hundred and foureteene men to the mercy of cruell elements, crueller Savages, cruellest Spaniards, who exercised in the Inquisition with bondage, rackes, whips, fires, famishments, & plurima mortis imago, what the other had spared; so that of a hundred and foureteene not above the odde foure, and those foure after Odysses of wandrings, and Iliades of miseries returned home from the foure corners of the World. Had Sir John Hawkins

Sir Jo. Hawkins. 1564. 1567. *Spanish perfidie.* *Spanish crueltie.*

had a Virginian opportunity of refreshing, the first danger should not have needed, and the last had not proved worse then the first: that exposing being not farre from the Virginian shoare, and the current fitting to carry him thither. Sir Francis Drake was then Captaine of the Judith, and repaied that courtesie to the Spaniards after, who to shew the fesibility of such refreshing Anno 1585. having sacked Saint Iago, Domingo, Carthagena, and Saint Augustine, returned by Virginia to relieve the Colony there planted by Sir W. Raleigh.

Cap. Lancaster. 1591.

Anno 1591. Captaine George Raymund in the Penelope, Captaine Foxcroft in the Merchant Royall, and Captaine Lancaster in the Edward Bonadventure, set forth a Voyage intended for the East Indies. Their Company were so weakened with sicknesse, that the Viceadmirall was sent backe from Soldanha with sicke men. The Admirall was lost, the Rereadmirall returned, and for want of provisions put over from Saint Helena to Trinidad, in hope of reliefe. Yet being there disappointed, they intended to get to Newfoundland, but being crossed with stormes in the way, and forced backe to Port Ricco, the Ship was driven away and lost not far from Mona, whiles the famished Company were seeking refreshing (which how easily had a Bermuda or Virginia supplied, had an English plantation flourished there?) Sir James Lancaster and the rest being forced to return after much misery, in French Ships for France, and thence home.

Cap. Ben. Wood. 1596. *Santos Æthiopia Orientalis.* [IV. ix. 1826.]

Anno 1596. the Beare, the Beares Whelpe, and the Benjamin, were set forth for China under the command of Captaine Benjamin Wood. Frier Joaon dos Santos mentions both the two former of Raymund and Lancaster, and two also of these seene on the coast of Mozambique. Bartolome Leonardo de Argensola in his Booke, printed at Madrid 1609. hath published the Letter of the Chinese Visitor of Chincheo, in which he writeth to Don Pedro de Acunna, Governour of the Philippinas, that the King of China had done two Sangleys to death, for shewing

the haven to these two English Ships: and Acunna describes that the English were Pyrates, &c. after the Spanish wont. These Ships were unheard of in England, untill a Letter of Alcasar de Villa sennor, Auditor of Domingo, writ to the King his Master, being by an English Ship intercepted, gave intelligence of one of those two Ships which distressed for want of necessaries, by mortality, had foure men only left alive in her, which seeking reliefe, put themselves into their Boate, and comming on shoare in the Iland Utias, not farre from Domingo, with Jewels and great riches, confessed that they had taken three Portugall prizes. The Spaniards at first received them on good conditions, but some villaines seeing their wealth, murthered them, for which this Auditor had sentenced Roderigo de Fuentes, with others, as his Letter to the King of Spaine importeth. Now had there then beene a Virginian or Bermudan Plantation, how easily might they have attained thither (the Boat at least) and escaped that butchery? I could hither adde instructions from the English Indian Ships 1604. and 1608. from Captaine Fenton 1582. from the Earle of Cumberlands Voyages before related, in the yeares 86. 89. 91. 93. 96. 97. and from Master Candish, Master Davis, and others.

But we have made too long a Virginian Voyage, having no better freight then Arguments, which the Times doe now promise, if not worthy wise mens approbation, yet good mens indulgence; where in a weake body, and manifold weighty imployments, the willingnesse of a heart truely English, sincerely Christian, may seeme tolerable, if not commendable; pardonable if not plausible. *East Indie societie.*

Another labour remaines to set downe rules and projects of best fecibility and accomplishing this noble worke, but I am onely a Freeman, no Councellour of that Plantation, and have neither Lands there, nor other adventure therein, but this of my love and credit, which with the allegiance to my Soveraigne, and desire of the publike good of this Kingdome, is more to me then all

the treasures of America. I seeke the good and not the goods of England and Virginia. I follow the hand of God, which have given England so many rights in Virginia, right naturall, right nationall, right by first discovery, by accepted trade, by possession surrendred voluntarily, continued constantly, right by gift, by birth, by bargaine and sale, by cession, by forfeiture in that late damnable trechery and massacre, and the fatal possession taken by so many murthered English. Gods bounty before, his justice now hath given us Virginia, that we should so in judgement remember mercy, as to give Virginia againe to God, in Christian acknowledgement of his goodnesse and mercy, of his word and workes, and in our owne more serious conversion to prepare that of Virginia. God goeth before us in making this designe honorable to Religion, to Humanity, to our Ancestors, to our King, to our Kingdome. God goeth before us, and hath given Virginia so rich a portion, to allure and assure our loves; in multiplying our people, and thereby our necessities enforcing a vent: in endowing Virginia with so large a jointure, so temperate, so commodious for the climate compared with other Countries, beyond other Countries in her own diversified Lands, Seas, Rivers; in so fertile a soyle, in so strong, sweete, stately, delicate Woods and Timbers, in her naturall hopes of Wines, of Silkes, of the bodies of Natives servile and serviceable: in Drugges, Irons, and probability also of other Mines; in all materials for Shipping, and other buildings: God goeth before us in offering that meane to save that which wee seeke and spend in other (perhaps enemies) Countries; to breede up Marriners, to train up Souldiers, to exercise labourers, by transportation of English and Europæan creatures to plant another England in America, enriched with the best things of Europe; to give us Fish, Tobacco, and other present improvements as earnest of future better hopes; and that in these times, which have so manifold necessities thereof, in regard of monies, men, and trades decayed, in regard of neighbour

The Conclusion.

Briefe recapitulation of the most remarkable premisses.

plantations, in the probabilities of a South-Sea glory, and in the case of obtruded warre, obtruding on us absolute necessity, and including and concluding every way so manifold use. God the Father, Sonne and holy Ghost, which goe before us in these things, if not in miraculous fire and cloudy pillars, (as when Israel went to Canaan) yet in the light of reason, and right consequence of arguments; come into us and fill us with the spirit of wisedome and understanding, the spirit of counsell and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge, and the feare of the Lord (I may adde the spirit of unity and counsell) that he may vouchsafe to goe with us, and we with him, and after him to Virginia, Amen,

Ex. 13.

Es. 11.

O Amen. Be thou the Alpha and
Omega of Englands Plantation
in Virginia O GOD.

The end of the ninth Booke.

English Discoveries

and Plantations in New England and New-Found-land; with the Patent and Voyages to New-Scotland: Relations also of the Fleets set forth by Queene Elizabeth against the Spaniards.

THE TENTH BOOKE.

Chap. I.

A briefe Relation of the Discoverie and Plantation of New-England: and of sundry Accidents therein occurring, from the yeere of our Lord 1607. to this present 1622. Published by the President and Councell, and dedicated to the Princes Highnesse here abbreviated.

WHen this Designe was first attempted, some of the present Company were therein chiefly interessed; who being carefull to have the same accomplished, did send to the discovery of those Northern parts a brave Gentleman, Cap. Henry Challons, with two of the Natives of that Territorie, the one called Maneday, the other Assecomet. But his misfortunes did expose him to the power of certaine strangers, enemies to his proceedings, 1. *Ca. Challons.*

so that by them, his Company were seized, the ships and goods confiscated, and that Voyage wholly overthrowne.

This losse, and unfortunate beginning, did much abate the rising courage of the first Adventurers; but immediately upon his departure, it pleased the Noble Lord Chiefe Justice, Sir John Popham Knight, to send out another shippe, wherein Captayne Thomas Hanam went Commander, and Martine Prinne of Bristow Master, with all necessary supplyes, for the seconding of Captayne Challons and his people; who arriving at the place appointed, and not finding that Captayne there, after they had made some Discoverie, and found the Coasts, Havens, and Harbours answerable to our desires, they returned. Upon whose Relation the Lord Chiefe Justice, and we all waxed so confident of the businesse, that the yeere following every man of any worth, formerly interessed in it, was willing to joyne in the charge for the sending over a competent number of people to lay the ground of a hopefull Plantation.

2. Cap. Hanam sent by Lord Chiefe Justice Popham.

3. Cap. Popham & Cap. Gilbert.

Hereupon Captaine Popham, Captaine Rawley Gilbert, and others were sent away with two ships, and an hundred Landmen, Ordnance, and other provisions necessary for their sustentation and defence; untill other supply might be sent. In the meane-while, before they could returne, it pleased God to take us from this worthy member, the Lord Chiefe Justice, whose sudden death did so astonish the hearts of the most part of the Adventurers, as some grew cold, and some did wholly abandon the businesse. Yet Sir Francis Popham his Sonne, certaine of his private friends, and other of us, omitted not the next yeere (holding on our first resolution) to joyne in sending forth a new supply, which was accordingly performed.

[IV. x. 1828.]

Sir John Pophams death.

But the ships arriving there, did not only bring uncomfortable newes of the death of the Lord Chiefe Justice, together with the death of Sir John Gilbert, the elder Brother unto Captaine Rawley Gilbert, who at that time was President of that Councell: But found that the old Captaine Popham was also dead; who was the

Captaine Pophams death.

onely man (indeed) that died there that Winter, wherein they indured the greater extremities; for that, in the depth thereof, their Lodgings and stores were burnt, and they thereby wondrously distressed.

This calamitie and evill newes, together with the resolution that Captaine Gilbert was forced to take for his owne returne (in that he was to succeed his Brother, in the Inheritance of his Lands in England) made the whole Company to resolve upon nothing but their returne with the ships; and for that present to leave that Countrey againe, having in the time of their abode there (notwithstanding the coldnesse of the season, and the small helpe they had) built a prettie Barke of their owne, which served them to good purpose, as easing them in their returning. *Death of the Plantation.*

The arrivall of these people here in England, was a wonderfull discouragement to all the first undertakers, in so much as there was no more speech of setling any other Plantation in those parts for a long time after: only Sir Francis Popham having the ships and provision, which remayned of the Company, and supplying what was necessary for his purpose, sent divers times to the Coasts for Trade and fishing; of whose losse or gaines himselfe is best able to give account. *Sir Fr. Popham.*

Our people abandoning the Plantation in this sort as you have heard; the Frenchmen immediately tooke the opportunitie to settle themselves within our limits; which beeing heard of by those of Virginia, that discreetly tooke to their consideration the inconveniences that might arise, by suffering them to harbour there, they dispatched Sir Samuel Argall, with Commission to displace them, which he performed with much discretion, judgement, valour, and dexteritie. For having seized their Forts, which they had built at Mount Mansell, Saint Croix, and Port Reall, he carried away their Ordnance; he also surprised their Ship, Cattle, and other Provisions, which he transported to the Colonie in Virginia, to their great benefit. And hereby hee hath made a way for the present hopefull Plantation to be made in Nova Scotia, which *Frenchmen plant there.* *Sir Sa. Argall.* *Nova Scotia.*

we heare his Majestie hath lately granted to Sir William Alexander Knight, one of his Majesties most Honorable Councell of the Kingdome of Scotland, to be held of the said Crowne, and that not without some of our privities, as by approbation under writing may and doth appeare. Whereby it is manifest that wee are so farre from making a Monopoly of all those Lands belonging to that Coast (as hath beene scandalously by some objected) that wee wish that many would undertake the like.

In this Interim there were of us who apprehended better hopes of good that might ensue by this attempt, being thereunto perswaded, both by the Relations of our people that had indured the many difficulties whereunto such actions are subjected, chiefly in the Winter Season; and likewise by the informations given them by certaine of the Natives, that had beene kept a long time in their hands; wherefore we resolved once more to trie the veritie thereof, and to see if possibly we might finde some thing that might induce a fresh resolution to prosecute a Worke so pious and so honourable. And thereupon they dispatched Captayne Hobson, of the Ile of Wight, together with Captayne Herley, Master John Matthew, Master Sturton, with two Savages, the one called Epenow, the other Manawet, with Commission and directions fit for them to observe and follow, the better to bring to passe what was expected. But as in all humane affaires, there is nothing more certaine, then the uncertaintie thereof; so fell it out in this; for a little before such time as they arrived upon the Coast with the foresaid Savages, who were Naturals of those parts, it happened there had beene one Hunt (a worthlesse fellow of our Nation, set out by certaine Merchants for love of gaine, who, not content with the commoditie he had by the fish, and peaceable Trade he found among the Savages, after he had made his dispatch, and was ready to set sayle more Savage-like then they) seized upon the poore innocent creatures, that in confidence of his honestie

Cap. Hobson imployed with Cap. Herley, &c. 1611.

Hunts Savage hunting of Savages.

had put themselves into his hands. And stowing them under Hatches, to the number of twentie foure, carried them into the Straits, where he sought to sell them for slaves, and sold as many as he could get mony for. But when it was understood from whence they were brought, the Friers of those parts took the rest from them, and kept them to be instructed in the Christian Faith; and so disappointed this unworthy fellow of the hopes of gaine he conceived to make by this new and Devillish project. *Friers charitie.*

This being knowne by our two Savages, formerly spoken of, they presently contracted such an hatred against our whole Nation, as they immediately studied how to be revenged; and contrived with their friends the best meanes to bring it to passe; but Manawet dying in a short time after the shippes arrivall there, and the other observing the good order, and strong guard our people kept, studied only how to free himselfe out of our hands, and thereupon laid the plot very orderly, and indeed effected his purpose, although with so great hazard to himselfe and friends, that laboured his rescue, that Captayne Hobson and his whole Company imagined hee had beene slaine. And though in the recovery of his bodie they wounded the Master of our ship, and divers other of our Company, yet was not their Designe without the slaughter of some of their people, and the hurts of other, compassed, as appeared afterward. *Wicked effects of wickednes.* [IV. x. 1829.]

Hereupon Captaine Hobson and his Company, conceiving the end of their attempt to bee frustrate, resolved without more adoe to returne, and so those hopes, that charge and Voyage was lost also, for they brought home nothing but the newes of their evill successe of the unfortunate cause thereof, and of a Warre now new begun betweene the Inhabitants of those parts, and us. A miserable comfort for so weake meanes as were now left, to pursue the conclusion of so tedious an Enterprise.

While this was a working, we found the meanes to send out Captaine John Smith from Plimmouth, in a *Cap. J. Smith.*

ship, together with Master Dermer, and divers others with him, to lay the foundation of a new Plantation, and to try the fishing of that Coast, and to seeke to settle a Trade with the Natives: But such was his misfortune, as being scarce free of our owne Coast, he had his Masts shaken over-boord by stormes and tempests, his ship wonderfully distressed, and in that extremitie forced to come backe againe; so as the season of the yeere being almost spent, wee were of necessitie enforced to furnish him with another ship, and taking out the provision of the first, dispatched him away againe, who comming to the height of the Westerne Ilands, was chased by a French Pirate, and by him made Prisoner, although his ship in the night escaped away, and returned with the losse of much of her provision, and the overthrow of that Voyage, to the ruine of that poore Gentleman Captayne Smith, who was detayned Prisoner by them, and forced to suffer many extremities, before he got free of his troubles.

Notwithstanding these Disasters, it pleased God so to worke for our incouragement againe, as he sent into our hands Tasquantum, one of those Savages that formerly had beene betrayed by this unworthy Hunt before named, by whose means there was hope conceived to worke a peace betweene us, and his friends, they beeing the principall Inhabitants of that Coast, where the fire was kindled. But this Savage Tasquantum, being at that time in the New-found-land with Captaine Mason, Governour there for the undertakers of that Plantation: Master Darmer (who was there also, and sometimes before imployed as wee have said by us, together with Captayne John Smith) found the meanes to give us intelligence of him, and his opinion of the good use that might bee made of his Employment, with the readinesse of Captayne Mason, to further any of our Attempts that way, eyther with Boates or other provision necessarie, and resolving himselfe to goe from thence, advised us to send some to meete with him at our usuall place of fishing; to ayde him in his indevour, that they joyning together, might

Cap. Mason Governor in New found-land Plantation.

bee able to doe what he hoped would be very acceptable unto all wel-wishers of that businesse. Upon this newes, we dispatched the next season Cap. Rocraft, with a company for that purpose, in hope to have met with Captaine Darmer; but the care and discretion of Cap. Mason was such, finding Captayne Darmers resolution to goe beyond his meanes, that he perswaded him first to go for England, that providing himselfe there, as was requisite, hee might proceed in time expedient, which counsell he observed (as fit it was) although our expectation of his joyning with Captaine Rocraft was thereby disappointed. Yet so it happened, that Captaine Rocraft at his arrivall in those parts, met with a French Barke that lay in a Creeke a fishing, and trading, which hee seized on, and sent home the Master and Company in the same ship which hee went out in.

Cap. Rocraft.

French seized.

With this Barke and his owne Company, he meant to keepe the Coast that Winter quarter, being very well fitted both with Salt, and other necessaries for his turne: but as this was an Act of extremitie (the poore man being of our owne Religion) so succeeded it accordingly. For in a short time after, certaine of this Captaynes Company, conspired together to cut his throate, and to make themselves Masters of the whole spoyle, and so to seeke a new Fortune where they could best make it. This Conspiracie being discovered to the Captayne, he let it go on, till the time that it should have beene put in execution, when hee caught them in their owne traine, and so apprehended them in the very instant that they were purposed to begin their Massacre.

Conspiracie.

But after hee had prevented the mischiefe, and seized upon the Malefactors, hee tooke to his consideration what was best to bee done with them. And being loth by himselfe to dispatch them as they deserved, hee resolved to put them a shoare, thinking by their hazard, that it was possible they might discover something, that might advance the publike; and so giving them some Armes for their defence, and some victuall for their

sustentation, untill they knew better how to provide for themselves, hee left them a place called Sawaguatock, where they remayned not long, but got from thence to Menehighon, an Iland lying some three leagues in the Sea, and fifteene leagues from that place, where they remayned all that Winter, with bad lodging, and worse fare, yet came all safe home save one sickely man, which dyed there, the rest returned with the Shippe wee sent for Rocrafts supply and provision, to make a Fishing Voyage.

Conspirators last Sawaguatock Menehighon.

[IV. x. 1830.] After these fellowes were landed, the Captaine finding himselfe but weakely man'd, and his Ship to draw too much water to Coast those places, that by his instructions hee was assigned to discover, hee resolved to goe for Virginia, where he had lived a long time before, and had (as hee conceived) many friends, that would helpe him with some things that hee had occasion to use. Arriving there, he was not deceived of his expectation; for Sir Samuel Argall being their Governour, and one that respected him much for his owne sake was the readier to helpe him, in regard of the good hee wished to the businesse wherein he was imployed.

But all this could not prevaile, for after that Sir Samuel Argall came from thence (his departure, being more sudden then was expected) it fell out that the new Governour entred the Harbour: and finding Rocraft ready to bee gone, sent to him to command him to come aboord to speake with him, which hee readily obeyed, as soone as hee could fit his boat and men for that purpose. And so leaving his Barke with her great Anker at head, and taking with him the halfe of his company, he was forced to stay aboard the new Governors Ship that night. In the meane while a storme arising, our Barke wanting hands to doe their labour, drove a shoare, and there sunke. But yet the Governour and Captaine so laboured the next day, when they knew thereof, as that they freed her againe, but that occasion forced our Captain to stay so long in the Countrey to fit himselfe a new, as in the

Barke sunke.

interim a quarrell fell out betweene him and another of that place; so as Rocraft was slaine, and the Barke sunke the second time, and finally disabled from yeelding us any benefit to this present. *Rocraft slaine.*

But we not knowing this disaster, and Captain Darmer arriving with his Savage out of New-found land, dispatched him away the next season, in a Ship wee sent againe for the fishing businesse, and assigned him a company to joyne with Rocraft and his people. Captain Darmer arriving there, and not finding Rocraft, was a little perplexed, and in doubt what to doe: yet hearing by those Mutiners which hee found there, that hee was gone for Virginia; he was hopefull of his returne; and lived in that expectation, till such time as he heard (by a Ship that came from thence to fish for the Colony) the confusion of his fortune, and the end of his misery in this world. Then hee determined to take the Pinnace, that the yeere before was assigned to Rocraft, for him to make the Trade with, and with her to proceed on his designe, and so embarked himselfe and his provision and company in her. And leaving the Fisher-men to their labour, he coasted the shoare from thence, searching every Harbour, and compassing every Cape-land, till hee arrived in Virginia; where hee was in hope to meet with some of the provision, or company of Rocraft, to help to supply him of what hee wanted; as also to lay a Decke upon his Pinnace, that before had not any, and now was taught by experience the necessitie of having that defect supplied. *Cap. Darmers voiage.* *Necessitie of a Deck in Pinnaces of discoverie.*

But those hopes failed him (all being before that time ruined and dispersed) so farre, as he saw it in vaine to hope for helpe by that meanes, and therefore attempted to make the best of what hee had of his owne. And going to set his men a worke, they all in few dayes after their arrivall, fell sicke of a disease which hapned at that time in the Countrey, so as now he was not onely forced to be without hope of their helping of him, but must labour himselfe all hee could to attend and sustaine them; but so God favoured him, that they recovered, and in

time convenient he dispatched his businesse there, and put himselfe to Sea againe, resolving to accomplish in his journey backe to New-England, what in his last Discovery he had omitted. In his passage he met with certaine Hollanders, who had a trade in Hudsons River some yeeres before that time, with whom he had conference about the state of that coast, and their proceedings with those people: whose answere gave him good content. Hee betooke himselfe to the following of his businesse, discovering many goodly Rivers, and exceeding pleasant and fruitfull Coasts and Ilands, for the space of eightie leagues from East to West, for so that Coast doth range along, from Hudsons River to Cape James.

Hollanders in Hudsons River.

Darmers discoveries.

Now after wee had found by Captaine Rocrafts relation made the yeere before, the hopes hee conceived of the benefits that Coast would afford, towards the upholding of the charge for setling our Plantation, by reason of the commodities arising by Fishing and Furres, if a course might bee taken for the managing of that businesse, as was fit for such a designe; as well as for the advancement of the publike good of our whole Nation, and satisfaction of every well disposed person that had a will to be interressed therein. It was held to be most convenient to strengthen our selves by a new Grant to bee obtained from his Royal Majesty: the rather, finding that those of Virginia had by two severall Patents setled their bounds, and excluded all from intermedling with them that were not free of their Company; and had wholly altered the forme of their Government, from the first ground layed for the managing the affaires of both Colonies, leaving us as desperate, and our businesse as abandoned. These considerations (as is said) together with the necessitie of setling our affaires, bounds and limits, distinct from theirs, made us resolve to petition his Majestie for the renewing of our Grant. By which time the rumour of our hopes was so publikely spread abroad, and the commodities of the Fish and Trade so looked into, as it was desired that

New Patent thought on.

all that Coast might bee made free, as well to those of Virginia, as to us to make their commoditie: How just or unjust that motion was, wee will not argue, seeing the businesse is ended. By this meanes our proceedings were interrupted, and wee questioned about it; first, by the Counsell of Virginia, whom wee thought to have beene fully satisfied therein, before wee could have way given us for a new Patent, both parties having beene heard by certaine of the Lords of the Councell; and the businesse by them so ordered, as wee were directed to proceed and to have our Grant agreeable to the libertie of the Virginia Company, the frame of our government excepted; but this order not being liked of, it was againe heard and concluded. Lastly, the Patent being past the Seale, it was stopt upon new suggestions to the King, and by his Majesty referred to the Councel to be setled, by whom the former Orders were confirmed, the difference cleered, and we ordered to have our Patent delivered us. [IV. x. 1831.]

These disputes held us almost two yeeres, so as all men were afraid to joyne with us, and we thereby left hopelesse of any thing more, than that which our owne fortunes would yeeld to advance our proceedings, in which time so many accidents hapned unto us at home and abroad, that wee were faine to give order by the Ships wee sent a fishing, for the retiring of Master Darmer and his people, untill all things were cleered, and wee better provided of meanes to goe through with our designe: But this worthy Gentleman confident of the good likely to ensue, and resolutely resolving to pursue the ends he aymed at, could not be perswaded to looke backe, as yet; and so refusing to accept our offer, began againe to prosecute his Discovery, wherein he was betrayed by certaine new Savages, who sodainly set upon him, giving him fourteene or fifteene wounds; but by his valour and dexteritie of spirit hee freed himselfe out of their hands, yet was constrained to retire into Virginia againe the second time, for the cure of his wounds, where he fell sicke of the infirmities of that place, and thereof dyed:

Dermer betraied by Savages. See sup. his owne letter to me.

His death.

so ended this worthy Gentleman his dayes, after he had remained in the discovery of that Coast two yeeres, giving us good content in all hee undertooke; and after hee had made the peace betweene us and the Savages, that so much abhorred our Nation for the wrongs done them by others, as you have heard: but the fruit of his labour in that behalfe wee as yet receive to our great commoditie, who have a peaceable Plantation at this present among them, where our people both prosper and live in good liking, and assurednesse of their neighbours, that had beene formerly so much exasperated against us, as will more at large appeare hereafter.

Peaceable Plantation by his meanes.

But having passed all these storms abroad, and undergone so many home-bred oppositions, and freed our Patent, which wee were by order of State assigned to renew, for the amendment of some defects therein contained, wee were assured of this ground more boldly to proceed on than before; and therefore wee tooke first to consideration, how to raise the meanes to advance the Plantation. In the examination thereof, two wayes did first offer themselves: The one was the voluntary contribution of the Patentees; The other, by an easie ransoming of the freedomes of those that had a will to partake only of the present profits arising by the Trade and Fishing upon the Coast. The first was to proceed from those Noble-men, and others that were Patentees, and they agreed by order among themselves to disburse a hundred pounds a piece, for the advancement of such necessary businesse as they had in hand. The second was to bee accomplished by setling such liberties and orders in the Westerne Cities and Townes, as might induce every reasonable man, in, and about them, affecting the publike good, or a regular proceeding in the businesse of Trade, to embrace an uniformitie, and to joyne a communitie or joynt stock together, &c.

Patent renewed.

BUt this Countrey, what by the generall and particular situation is so temperate, as it seemeth to hold the golden meane, and indeed is most agreeable to the nature of our owne, which is made manifest by experience, the most infallible proofe of all assertions; insomuch as our people that are setled, enjoy their life and health much more happily then in other places; which can be imputed to no other cause, then to the temperature of the Climate: Now as the Clime is found to be so temperate, so delicate and healthfull, both by reason and experience; such is the soile also, some parts thereof yeelding wonderfull increase, both of Corne, the Natives have most use of; as also of our owne, of all sorts: with infinite varietie of nourishing Rootes, and other Hearbs and Fruits common among them, but rare with us. Besides, the Coast doth abound with most convenient Havens and Harbors, full of singular Ilands fit for Plantation; replenished with Plants and Wood of all sorts; as Oake, Cedars, Spruce, Fir, Pyne, Walnut, Chestnut, Elme, Sassafras, Plum-trees, and Calamus Aromaticus, &c.

Temperate Climate.

Fertile Soile.

Commodious Coast.

The people are tractable (if they be not abused) to commerce and Trade withall, and as yet have good respect of us. The Seas are stored with all kindes of excellent Fish, and in many places upon the Coast, fit to make Salt in. The Countrey aboundeth with diversitie of wilde Fowle, as Turkies, Partridges, Swans, Cranes, wild Geese of al sorts, wild Ducks of three sorts, many Doves, especially when Strawberries are ripe.

Fowle.

There are severall sorts of Deere in those parts, and some that bring forth two, three, and foure young at once, which is a manifest proofe of the fertilitie of the Soile, or temper of the Clime, or both together. There is also a certaine Beast, that the Natives call a Mosse, hee is as big bodied as an Oxe, headed like a fallow Deere, with a broad Palme, which hee mues every yeere, as doth the Deere, and neck like a Red Deere, with a short Mane running downe along the Ranes of his back, his haire long like an Elke, but esteemed to be better

Deere.

The Mosse a strange beast described.

[IV. x. 1832.] then that for Sadlers use, he hath likewise a great bunch hanging downe under his throat, and is of the colour of our blacker sort of fallow Deere, his legs are long, and his feet as big as the feet of our Oxen, his taile is longer then the Single of a Deere, and reacheth almost downe to his Huxens, his skinne maketh very good Buffe, and his flesh is excellent good food, which the Natives use to Jerkin and keepe all the yeere to serve their turne, and so proves very serviceable for their use. There have beene many of them seene in a great Iland upon the Coast, called by our people Mount Mansell, whither the Savages goe at certaine seasons to hunt them; the manner whereof is by making of severall fires, and setting the Countrey with people, to force them into the Sea, to which they are naturally addicted, and then there are others that attend them in their Boates with Bowes and weapons of severall kindes, wherewith they slay and take at their pleasure. And there is hope that this kind of Beasts may be made serviceable for ordinary labour, with Art and Industry.

Mount Mansell.

How they take the Mosse or Musse.

Commodities.

The knowne Commodities of that Countrey are Fish of severall sorts, rich Furres, as Beavers, Otters, Martins, blacke Fox, Sables, &c. There are likewise plentie of Vines, of three kinds, and those pleasant to the taste, yet some better then other. There is Hempe, Flax, Silkgrasse, severall veines of Ironstone, commodities to make Pitch, Rosen, Tarre; Deale-boords of all sorts, Spars, Masts, for Ships of all burdens; in a word, there comes no commoditie out of France, Germany, or the Sound, but may be had there with reasonable labour and industry.

Severall Plantations along the Coast.

Further, wee have setled at this present severall Plantations along the Coast, and have granted Patents to many more that are in preparation to bee gone with all conveniencie. Those of our people that are there have both health and plenty, so as they acknowledge there is no want of any thing, but of industrious people, to reape the commodities that are there to be had, and they

are indeed so much affected to the place, as they are loth to bee drawne from thence, although they were directed to returne to give satisfaction to those that sent them, but chose rather to performe that office by Letters, together with there excuse for breach of their duty in that behalfe. And thus you see there is no labour well imployed, but hath his reward at one time or other. These incouragements have imboldned us to proceed to the ingaging of our selves for the building of some Ships of good burden, and extraordinary mould, to lie upon the Coast for the defence of Merchants and Fishermen that are imployed there, as also to Waft the Fleets, as they goe to and from their Markets: and wee purpose from henceforth to build our shipping there, where wee find all commodities fit for that service, together with the most opportune places that can bee desired.

Lastly, finding that we have so far forth prevailed, as to wind our selves into familiaritie with the Natives (which are in no great number) along the Coast, for two hundred Leagues together, wee have now dispatched some of our people of purpose, to dyve into the bowels of the Continent, there to search and finde out what Port, or Place, is most convenient to settle our mayne Plantation in, where wee meane to make the Residencie of our State and Government, as also to bee assured what other commodities may bee raysed for the publike, and private benefit of those that are dealers in that businesse, and willing to bee interessed in any the Lands there: Whither is gone this yeere already, for Trade and Fishing onely, thirtie Saile of the better sort of Ships belonging to the Westerne parts, besides those who are gone for transportation of the Planters, or supply of such as are already planted, whose returne (as is supposed) will amount (at the least) to thirty thousand pound, the greater part whereof comes home in Bullion. And therefore as touching the third happinesse of these parts, which is the Sea, there needeth no other greater commendation, then this benefit of Fishing assured unto us by common

Thirtie saile. 1622.

Experience; although it affords many other hopes, both in regard of the facilitie of the Navigation, the boldnesse of the Coast, the conveniencie of Roades, Havens and Harbors, for performance of all manner of imployments; yet is there also found Showes of Pearle, Ambergreece, great numbers of Whales, and other merchantable meanes to raise profit to the industrious Inhabitants or diligent Traders.

Chap. II.

The Voyage of M. Henry Challons intended for the North Plantation of Virginia, 1606. taken by the way, and ill used by Spaniards: written by John Stoneman Pilot.

ON Tuesday the twelfth of August, 1606. M. Henry Challons Gentleman set forth from Plimouth, in our small Ship of the burthen of fiftie five Tunnes or thereabout, called the Richard of Plimouth. Wherein went twentie nine Englishmen, and two of the five Savages (whose names were Mannido and Assacomoit) which were brought into England the yeere before out of the North parts of Virginia, from our goodly River by him thrice discovered, called [IV. x. 1833.] in the Latitude of 43. degrees, 20. minutes were imployed for a farther discovery of these Coasts: And if any good occasion were offered, to leave as many men as wee could spare in the Country. Being victualled for eleven or twelve moneths, at the charges of the Honourable Sir John Popham Knight, Lord chiefe Justice of England, Sir Fardinando Gorges Knight, Captaine of the Fort of Plimouth, together with divers other worshipfull Knights, Gentlemen and Merchants of the West Countrye: John Stoneman of Plimouth being Pilot, who had beene in the foresaid parts of Virginia the yeere before, with George Waymouth: The Masters name was Nicholas Hine of Cockington, neere Dartmouth;

The last day of August wee fell with the Ile of Madera, where we watered and refreshed our selves, and stayed three dayes, being very kindly used by the Inhabitants. The third day of September wee departed from thence, passing betweene Gomora and Palma, two of the Canary Iles, and from thence were driven by contrary winds, to take a more Southerly course then we intended, and so spent more then sixe weekes before wee could recover any of the Ant-Iles. The first that wee could recover, was the Ile of Saint Lucia, in the Latitude of 14. degrees, 20. minutes, where we refreshed our selves with Wood and Water. And saw certaine of the Savages there, about fortie or fiftie, came unto us at our Ship in one of their Cannoas, bringing unto us Tobacco, Potatos, Plantins, and Cassavi Bread, the which Savages had slaine more then fortie of our Nation, the yeere before, 1605. as after wee understood by Philip Glasco, and Miles Pett, being two of Captaine Nicholas Saint Johns company, which was there treacherously slaine among the rest.

Madera.

Saint Lucia.

Fortie English slaine by Savages, 1605. See the storie, sup. pag. 1255.

Having stayed heare three dayes, about the two and twentieth of October we departed thence to the Northward. And in passing by the Ile of Dominica, wee chanced to see a white Flag put forth on the shoare, whereat marvelling, wee supposed that some Christians had sustained shipwrack their. And forthwith a Cannoa came off from the shoare towards us, which when they came neere, being very little wind, we layed our Ship by the lee and stayed for them a little, and when they were come within a little distance of the Ship, wee perceived in the Cannoa a Friar, who cried aloud in the Latine tongue, saying, I beseech, as you are Christians, for Christ his sake to shew some mercy and compassion on mee, I am a Preacher of the Word of God, a Friar of the Order of Franciscus in Sivill, by name Friar Blasius. And that hee had beene there sixteene moneths a Slave unto those Savages; and that other two Friars which were of his company they had murthered and throwne into the Sea. We demanded of him then, how

Dominica.

Friar Blascus his request.

he got so much favour to preserve his life, his Brethren being murthered: Hee answered, because hee did shew the Savages how to fit them Sayles for their Cannoas, and so to ease them of much labour often in rowing, which greatly pleased the Savages as appeared, for wee saw them to use sayles in their Cannoas, which hath not beene seene before.

Then we demanded of him where they had this Linnen Cloth to make those Sayles: hee answered, That about two yeeres before that, three Gallions comming to the West Indies were cast away on the Ile of Gwadalopa, where abundance of Linnen Cloth and other Merchandise was cast on shoare. We demanded farther, what was the cause of his being in this place, and how he came thither: he answered, That the King of Spaine did every yeere, send out of every great Monastery certaine Friars into the remote parts of the Indies, both to seeke to convert the Savages, as also to seeke out what benefits or commodities might be had in those parts, and also of what force the Savages were of, and what number of them were in the seven Ant-Iles, viz. Saint Vincent Granado, Saint Lucia, Mattalina, Dominica, Gwadalopa, Aisey. The which the said Friar Blaseus said he had diligently noted and observed, and did hope to make perfect relation of such great benefits and riches as was to be drawne from thence, as he doubted not but would bee greatly accepted of his King, if hee might live to returne to declare it: For, said hee, I have seene in one River discending from the Mountaines in the Ile of Dominica, the Sand to glitter like Gold or find Copper, whereupon I tooke some of it, and chewed it betweene my teeth, and found it perfect Mettall, the Savages noting me, began to have some jealousie of me, so as I durst not take any farther notice of it, neither would they suffer him forward to come neere to that place. And farther hee said, That if the great plentie of divers Fruits and Roots fit for mans sustenance were perfectly knowne, together with the Sugar-canes that they have in those

Three gallions lost at Guadalupa.

Causes of yeerly sending of Friars out of Spaine.

Gold in Dominica.

Iles, and the fertilitie of the soyle he thought it would be very shortly inhabited; and as for the number of Savages there, as neere as we could understand, was scarce one thousand of all sorts of men, women, and children in all the said seven Iles.

Now, being moved with pittie at the lamentable complaint, and humble suit of this distressed Friar, wee tooke him into our Ship, and sent away the Savages much discontented. And from thence wee sayled to the Ile of Saint John De-port-rico, where on the nine and twentieth of October, wee arrived on the Southside, and forthwith sent the Friar on shoare, and delivered him to two Heardsmen, which most thankfully received him, and of their courtesie brought us a fat Cow, and proferred us more with Hogs, Calves, or any thing else that they could procure us in recompence of the good deed done to the Friar.

They land the Friar on Port Rico.

Wee departed from thence, and sayled out betweene the Iles of Saint John De-portrico, and Hispaniola standing away to the Northward. And leaving the great shoalds called Abrioio, on our Larboord side, being in the Latitude of 21. and 22. degrees, from thence Westward, our course North North-west, and North-west and by North, untill wee were in the Latitude of 27. degrees or better, and about one hundred and eightie leagues from Saint John de Port Rico.

[IV. x. 1834.]

In this place having had a very great storme of Wind and Raine continuing fiftie sixe houres and more before on the tenth day of November, about ten of the clocke in the morning, suddenly we found our selves in the middest of a Fleet of eight Sayle of ships in a very thicke fogge of mist and raine, so as we could not see them before they were very neere, and within shot of them, wherein three of them were on the wind-ward of us, on a third and fourth more to lee-ward: those at the wind-ward came rome unto us, and shot at us, requiring us to speake with their Admirall. When we saw that by no meanes we could avoid them, but that they would

They by unhappy hap fall amongst Spanish ships.

speake with us, we put abroad our Colours, and went toward the Admirall, before wee came unto him, he likewise strooke downe our Sayle, and came under his lee, demanding his pleasure: the other ship which first shot us, all our Sayles being downe, and shot our mayne Sayle in pieces lying on the Decke.

They are borded, taken and abused.

And forthwith the Admirall came on boord of us, with two and twentie men in their ships Boate with Rapiers, Swords, and halfe-pikes. We being all in peace stood readie to entertayne them in peace. But assoone as they were entred on boord of us, they did most cruelly beate us all, and wounded two of our Company in the heads with their Swords, not sparing our Captayne nor any. Also they wounded Assacomoit, one of the Savages aforesaid, most cruelly in severall places in the bodie, and thrust quite through the arme, the poore creature creeping under a Cabbin for feare of their rigour: and as they thrust at him, wounding him, he cried still. King James, King James, King James his ship, King James his ship. Thus having beaten us all downe under the Deckes, presently they beat us up againe, and thrust us over-boord into their Boate, and so sent us on boord of the Admirall ship. Neither would they suffer any of us to speake a word, to shew the cause of our passing the Seas in these parts. Neyther regarded they any thing, our Commission which the Captayne held forth unto them in his hand: untill that the Admirall with the Company of foure other of the ships, had rifled, spoyled, and delivered all the Merchandize and goods of the ship among them: which beeing done, they also divided us beeing thirtie persons in all into the said five ships, by seven, six, five, and foure to a ship.

King James his name little respected by Spaniards.

Three of the former eight Sayle made Sayle away, and never came neere us, neither were partakers of our spoyle. Then they also repayred our Maine Sayle which was torne with the shot aforesaid, and put their men into her. And after because they could not make her to sayle well, they tooke two of our men, and put into her to helpe

them, the other five ships and our ship kept company two or three dayes together. After this they separated themselves either from other, not through any tempest or storme, but through wilfull negligence or simple Ignorance, by shaping contrary courses the one from the other. So as not two of them kept company together. My selfe and sixe more of our company in the Vice-Admirall (of the burthen of one hundred and eightie tunnes; called the Peter of Sivill, the Captaynes name was Andreas Barbear) beeing alone, and having lost the company of the Fleet, continued our course untill the middle of December: at which time being about twentie leagues off from the Ile of Santa Maria, one of the Iles of the Azores, the Vice-Admiral and the whole company disliking the great Ignorance of the Pilot, because he had told them ten dayes before that he was very neere the Ilands, and had waited all this time, and could find any of them, entreated me very earnestly to shew my skill. And the Pilot himselfe brought mee his Instruments, and besought mee most earnestly to assist him, and to appease the company. Whereunto by there much importunitie I yeelded. And by Gods assistance on Christmasse Eeve, after our English account, I brought them safe to the Barre of Saint Lucas, being the first ship of the whole Fleet that arrived there.

One of the ships of this Fleet, by the great Ignorance of the Spanish Masters, Pilots, and Mariners was driven beyond all the Coast of Spaine, into Burdeaux in Gascoyne, In which shippe the Officers of the Admiraltie of France, finding foure of our Englishmen prisoners under the Deckes in hold; to wit, Master Daniell Tucker, who was our Cape Merchant, Pierce Gliddon and two others, did very friendly set them at libertie; and the said Daniel Tucker presently arrested the Spanish ship and goods beeing of great value, which of long time remayneth under arrest. *French courtesie.*

The good Duke of Medina hearing of the arrivall of certaine English prisoners taken here, the Coast of the

West Indies, sent command to the Captaynes of the Spanish ships, to bring foure of the chiefest to be brought before him. Whereupon my selfe, Master Thomas Saint John, John Walrond our Steward, and William Stone our Carpenter were brought before him. The ship wherein Master Challons was, was not yet come.

Master David Nevill an Englishman dwelling in Saint Lucas, was appointed our Interpretor. And then the Duke required me upon my oath to yeeld a true and faithfull answere, according to the whole state and manner of our Voyage and proceedings, which I did, according to the former Relation afore written, whereupon his Excellencie replyed unto the Spanish Captaynes which had brought us, saying, if this bee true which this Englishman affirmeth, you have greatly wronged these men. And so commanded them to provide meate, drinke, and fit lodging for us, and to bring us againe the next day before him. They sent us neverthelesse to Sivill, where wee were brought to a Dutchmans house, called Signior Petro, where we were reasonably lodged, and entertayned that night.

[IV. x. 1835.]

The next morning being New yeeres day we were brought before the President of Sivill, at the Contractation, who hearing of our comming, and not vouchsafing to speake with us, sent foure Officers to us, and cast us into Prison. Where for the space of five dayes wee had publike allowance, but such as poore men which were there Prisoners, also did of their mercie bestow on us. At length after many humble Sutes, and earnest Petitions exhibited to the President, we had a Riall of Plate allowed to each man a day, which is sixe pence English, which by reason of the dearth of all sorts of victuall in those parts, will not goe so far as three pence in England.

Their imprisonment.

And so at severall times, within one moneth after eleven more of our Company were committed to Prison, as they came home, whereof our Captaine was one. Notwithstanding that the good Duke of Medina had discharged both him and all those of his Company, which came into

Spaine with him, and willed him to goe home to the Court of England, or to the Court of Spaine where he thought to have best reliefe for his poore imprisoned Company. Whereupon Nicholas Hine our Master, and two more of our men wisely foreseeing what was like to bee the Issue, made haste away out of the Citie, and so got passage and escaped into England.

Before the comming of our Captaine to Sivill, my selfe and eleven more of my Company were examined before the President of the Contractation: who finding no just cause of offence in us, did often earnestly examine me of the manner and situation of the Countrie of Virginia, together with the Commodities and benefit thereof. And after the comming of our Captaine, they likewise examined him to the same purpose. We answered both to one purpose, according to our Commission in writing, which the Spaniards at our taking at Sea, had preserved and delivered up unto the hands of the President. Within few dayes after, they gave our Captaine and Master Thomas Saint John, libertie of mayne Prison, upon the securitie of two English Merchants, which were Master William Rapier, and Master John Peckeford, whereof the later is dwelling and maried in Sivill. The rest of the Company being one and twentie in Prison, continued still in miserable estate. And about two moneths after, Robert Cooke of London one of our Company fell sick of a Fluxe, whereof he languished three moneths and more, and by no meanes that wee could make, could get him forth to bee cured, although wee spent more then sixtie Rials in Supplicaves and Sutes to get him out. At length being dead, they caused his bodie to bee drawne up and downe the Prison by the heeles, naked, in most contemptible manner, crying, Behold the Lutheran, as five others of our Company beeing then in Prison beheld: and so laid him under the Conduit, and powred water into his dead bodie. This done, they cut off his Eares, Nose and Members, as the Spaniards themselves confessed unto us, and so conveyed

Hard hearted Spaniard.

Cruell immanitie.

his bodie wee could never learne whether, although we proffered them money to have his dead corps to burie it.

Shortly after Nathaniel Humfrie our Boatswaine was stabbed into the belly with a Knife by a Spaniard, which was a slave in the Prison, and fourteene dayes after dyed, who beeing dead I went unto the Keeper of the Prison, desiring to buy his dead bodie to burie it, and so for twenty Rials I bought his bodie, and buried it in the field. Then we besought the President for Justice on this slave which had slaine our Boatswaine: he demanded what we would have of the slave. And we requested, that as he had slaine an honest and worthy man of ours causelesse, that hee might die for it according to the Law. The President answered no, but if we would have him condemned for two or three yeares more to the Gallies he should. For said hee, The King of Spaine will not give the life of the worst Slave that he hath, for the best Subject the King of England hath, and so sent us away with this answere. Whereupon being out of all hope of Justice with the President, we repaired unto the Regent being an Ecclesiasticall man, one of the chiefest Judges of the Citie, desiring likewise Justice on the Murtherer aforesaid: who in kind tearmes promised us Justice, and so willed us to retaine counsell and Atturnies to prosecute our Sute; which wee did accordingly, and so after two moneths Sute, and the cost of more then two hundred Rials on Lawyers, Scribes and other Officers at length we had him hanged by the favour of the Regent, which otherwise we had never obtained.

Spanish Presidents respect to the English.

Honest Spaniards.

And now I may not omit to shew how I got the libertie to have the scope of the Citie for my Race to come, and go. Having beene three moneths in close Prison with our poore company as aforesaid. At length I got the favour of two Englishmen inhabiting in Sivill named Constantine Collins, and Henry Roberts who did ingage themselves for me. The Spaniards were very desirous to have me to serve their State, and proffered me great wages, which I refused to doe, affirming, that this

imployment which I had in hand, was not yet ended untill which time I would not determine any.

Then the Alcadie major of the Contractation House and divers others Merchants perswaded me to make them some descriptions and Maps of the Coast and parts of Virginia, which I also refused to doe. They being discontent with me, sent mee againe to Prison, where I continued two and twentie dayes, and then I making meanes unto my good friends borrowed money, and so gave divers bribes unto the keepers of the Prison, whereupon they gave mee libertie to goe abroad againe into the Citie at my pleasure. And wayting every day for some order from the Court of Spaine of our discharge, there came none but delayes and prolonging of our troubles and miseries. So as we began almost to despaire of libertie. [IV. x. 1836.]

At length an honest Dutch Merchant dwelling in Sivill, named Hanse Eloyse, sent unto mee to speake with me, which when I came unto him, signified unto me what he had learned of one of the Judges of the Contractation: who told him as he reported unto me, that the Spaniards had a great hate unto me above all others, because they understood that I had beene a former Discoverer in Virginia, at the bringing into England of those Savages; and that they thought it was by my instigation to perswade our State to inhabit those parts. And because they had received so small knowledge of those parts by my confession: and that they could not perswade mee to serve that State, neither would make them any note draught, or descriptions of the Countrie. They resolved to bring to the Racke and torment me, whereby to draw some further knowledge by confession from me, before any discharge might come for us. The which this honest Merchant considering, and the Innocencie of our case, gave me to understand. And wished mee rather to flie and preserve my selfe, then to stand to their mercie on the Racke, I hearing this the next morning, being the three and twentieth of October, suddenly fled from Sivill,

and with me Master Thomas Saint John aforesaid, and one other of our Company named James Stoneman my Brother, whom through great cost and charges bestowed on the Keepers of the Prison a little before I had got forth to bee cured of a Callenture. Thus wee fled from Sivill, leaving Master Henry Challons our Captaine at libertie upon sureties, and sixteene more of our Company in close Prison.

From thence on the five and twentieth of October, wee came to a Mount in the Cundado, where finding no passage by any shipping into England, France or Flanders. Wee travelled through Algarvie, to the Port of Setunall, and finding no passage there, wee travelled to Lisbone in Portugall. Where wee arrived the one and thirtieth of October, and there found ships readie bound to goe to England, but the wind was contrary for fourteene dayes.

At the time of our abode at Lisbone, wee understood that three Carrickes were come from the East Indies: whereof one was arrived safely at Lisbone tenne dayes before our comming thither. Another was driven to leeward, and put in Veego, as wee heard. The third Carracke beeing at the Ile of Tercera, was so leake that they could not bring her home into Portugall, but unloaded her into three of the King of Spaines great Armadoes, to bring the goods more safely to Lisbone. Which Ships at their comming before the mouth of the River of Lisbone in the night within three dayes after my comming thither, were all cast away on certaine shoaldes there called Oscachopos, or as wee commonly call them the Catchops, where of nine hundred men, as the Portugalls reported, but only thirtie seven were saved, and of the goods very little at all: because the said ships being cast away on the ebbe, the goods were driven off into the Sea, the dead bodies of many that were drowned, I my selfe saw cast on the shore with the sundry wrackes of the parts of the Ships Masts and Yards, with other wracke of Caske, Chists, and such like in great abundance.

Three ships cast away.

The fourteenth day of November the winde being faire, wee tooke passage from Lisbone in a small Barke belonging to Bidiford, called the Marget, and on the foure and twentieth of the same we were landed at Saint Ives in Cornwall, and from thence I hasted to Plimmouth, where I shewed unto Sir Ferdinando Gorges and divers others the Adventurers, the whole Discourse of our unhappie Voyage together with the miseries that wee had, and did indure under the Spaniards hands. And then hasted with all the speed I could toward the Court of England, where I was assured to my great comfort; that they either were alreadie, or very shortly should bee delivered.

Before my departure from Sivill, I should have remembred, that about Whitsontide last there were brought into the Prison of the Contractation there, two young men brought out of the West Indies, in one of the Kings Gallions, which were of Captaine John Legats company of Plimmouth, which departed out of England, about the latter end of July 1606. bound for the River of Amazons, as hee told me before his going forth, where hee had beene two yeeres before. And comming on the Coast of Brasill as those young men (the name of one of them is William Adams borne in Plumpton neere Plimmouth) reported unto mee whether falling to the leeward of the River of Amazons, or deceived by his Master they knew not. And not being able to recover the said River, were constrayned to refresh in the West Indies, in which time there fell a great disorder betweene the said Captaine Legat and his company, so as one of his company, in a broyle within themselves aboard there ship, slue the said Captaine Legat, whether in his owne private quarrell or with the consent of the rest of the Company, they could not tell mee. But this is the more to bee suspected for that he alwayes in former Voyages dealt very straitly with his company. After his death his company comming to the Ile of Pinos, on the South-side of Cuba, to refresh themselves, being eighteene

Cap. John Legat of Plimmouth.

Mutine. Cap. Legat slaine by his mutinous crew, which knew not when they had done to bring home their ship, and so stumbled on Spanish Justicers. I have heard him much commended for a proper and expert Seaman.

persons were circumvented by the trecherie of the Spaniards, and were there betrayed, and taken Prisoners: and within foure dayes after, of eighteene persons, fourteene were hanged the other foure being youths were saved to serve the Spaniards, whereof, two of them, refusing to serve longer in there ships, were put into the Prison at Sivill, the other two remayne still as slaves to the Spaniards.

[IV. x. 1837.]

This I had the rather noted to the end that it may be the better considered what numbers of ships and men have gone out of England, since the conclusion of peace betweene England and Spaine, in the way of honest Trade and Traffique, and how many of them have miserably miscarried. Having beene slaine, drowned, hanged or pittifully captived, and thrust out of their ships and all their goods.

READER, I had by me the Voyage of Captaine Thomas Hanham, (written by himselfe) unto Sagadahoc: also the written Journals of Master Raleigh Gilbert which stayed and fortified there in that unseasonable Winter (fit to freeze the heart of a Plantation) of James Davies, John Eliot, &c. but our voluminousnesse makes me afraid of offending nicer and queasier stomackes: for which cause I have omitted them, even after I had with great labour fitted them to the Presse: as I have also done a written large Tractate of Mawaushen, and the Voyage of Master Edward Harlie (one of the first Planters with Cap. Popham) and Nicholas Hobson to those parts 1611. with divers Letters from Cap. Popham and others. You must observe, that it was in those times called by the name of Virginia, and the Northerne Plantation or Colonie. But Captaine Smith (a man which hath so many Irons in our fire) presented a Booke of the Countrie to Prince Charles his Highnesse, with a Map of the Countrey, who stiled it (as our hopes are, he will one day make it) New England, and altered the Savage names of places to English. Hee made one Voyage thither,

Anno 1614. and the next yeere beganne another, which taken by Frenchmen, he was not able to make up: but in testimonie of his love to his Countrey here, and of his hopes there hath written divers Bookes, One called A Description of New England (in which his said Voyages are described, with the description of the Countrey and many Arguments to incite men to that undertaking; which I had also prepared for the Presse, but for the former feares have omitted) the other called New Englands Trials twice or thrice printed, out of which I have added thus much, that the World may see the benefit to bee made by fishing, and may also be better acquainted with the successe and succession of New Englands Affaires.

Chap. III.

Extracts of a Booke of Captaine John Smith, printed 1622. called New Englands tryalls, and continuing the Storie thereof, with Motives to the businesse of fishing there.

The benefit of fishing, as Master Dee reporteth in his Brittish Monarchie.

HE saith that it is more then foure and fortie yeeres agoe, and it is more then fortie yeeres since he writ it, that the Herring Busses out of the Low-countries, under the King of Spaine, were five hundred, besides one hundred Frenchmen, and three or foure hundred Sayle of Flemmings.

The Coasts of Wales and Lancashire was used by three hundred Sayle of strangers.

Ireland and Baltemore fraugted yeerly three hundred Sayle of Spaniards, where King Edward the Sixt intended to have made a strong Castle, because of the Strait, to have Tribute for fishing.

Blacke Rocke was yeerely fished by three or foure hundred Sayle of Spaniards, Portugals, and Biskiners.

Master Gentleman, and many Fisher-men and Fish-mongers, with whom I have conferred, report, The Hollanders raise yeerely by Herring, Cod, and Ling, 3000000. pounds.

English and French by Salt-fish, Poore John, Salmons, and Pilchards, 300000. pounds.

Hamborough and the Sound, for Sturgion, Lobsters and Eeles, 100000. pounds.

Cape Blanke for Tunny and Mullit, by the Biskiners and Spaniards, 30000. pounds.

But divers other learned experienced Observers say, though it may seeme incredible, That the Duke of Medina receiveth yeerely tribute of the Fishers for Tunny, Mullit and Purgos, more then 10000. pounds.

Lubeck hath seven hundred Ships: Hamborough six hundred: Embden lately a Fisher Towne, one thousand foure hundred, whose Customes by the profit of fishing hath made them so powerfull as they bee.

[IV. x. 1838.] Holland and Zealand, not much greater then Yorke-shire, hath thirtie walled Townes, foure hundred Villages, 20000. saile of Ships and Hoyes; thirtie sixe thousand are Fisher-men, whereof one hundred are Doggers, seven hundred Pinkes and Wel-boates, seven hundred Frand Boates, Britters and Tode-boats, with one thousand three hundred Busses, besides three hundred that yeerely fish about Yarmouth, where they sell their Fish for Gold; and fifteene yeeres ago they had more then 116000. Sea-faring men.

The fishing shippes doe take yeerely two hundred thousand Last of fish, twelve barrels to a Last, which amounted to 3000000. pounds by the Fishermens price, that fourteene yeeres agoe did pay for their Tenths 300000. pound; which venting in Pumerland, Sprussia, Denmarke, Lefland, Russia, Swethland, Germany, Netherlands, England, or else-where &c. make their returnes in a yeere about 7000000. pounds; and yet in Holland they

have neither matter to build ships, nor Merchandize to set them forth; yet by their industrie they as much increase, as other Nations decay. But leaving these uncertainties as they are, of this I am certaine:

That the Coast of England, Scotland, and Ireland, the North Sea, with Ireland and the Sound, New-found-land, and Cape Blanke, doe serve all Europe, as well the Land Townes as Ports, and all the Christian shipping, with these sorts of Staple fish which is transported, from whence it is taken, many a thousand mile, viz. Herring, Salt-fish, Poore John, Sturgion, Mullit, Tunny, Porgos, Caviare, Buttargo.

Now seeing all these sorts of fish, or the most part of them, may be had in a Land more fertile, temperate, and plentifull of all necessaries for the building of ships, Boates, and houses, and the nourishment of man; the Seasons are so proper, and the fishings so neere the habitations, we may there make, that New England hath much advantage of the most of those parts, to serve all Europe far cheaper then they can, who at home have neither Wood, Salt, nor Food, but at great rates; at Sea nothing but what they carrie in their ships, an hundred or two hundred leagues from their habitation.

But New Englands fishings is neere land, where is helpe of Wood, Water, Fruites, Fowles, Corne, or other refreshings needfull; and the Terceras, Mederas, Canaries, Spaine, Portugall, Provance, Savoy, Sicilia, and all Italy, as convenient Markets for our dry fish, greene fish, Sturgion, Mullit, Caviare, and Buttargo, as Norway, Swethland, Littuania, or Germany, for their Herring, which is here also in abundance for taking, they returning but Wood, Pitch, Tarre, Sope-ashes, Cordage, Flaxe, Waxe, and such like Commodities: we, Wines, Oyles, Sugars, Silkes, and such Merchandize as the Straits affoord, whereby our profit may equalize theirs; besides the increase of shipping and Mariners. And for proofe hereof:

Proofe 1. With two ships sent out at the charge of Captaine 1614.

Marmaduke Roydon, Captaine George Langam, Master John Buley and W. Skelton, I went from the Downes the third of March, and arrived in New England the last of April, where I was to have stayed but with ten men to keepe possession of those large Territories. Had the Whales proved, as curious information had assured mee and my Adventures, (but those things failed.) So having but fortie five men and boyes, we built seven Boates, thirtie seven did fish: my selfe with eight others ranging the Coast, I tooke a plot of what I could see, got acquaintance of the Inhabitants; 1100. Bever skinnes, a hundred Martines, and as many Otters. Fortie thousand of dry fish wee sent for Spaine, with the Salt-fish, traine Oyle and Furres, I returned for England the eighteenth of July, and arrived safe with my Company the latter end of August. Thus in sixe moneths I made my Voyage out and home; and by the labour of five and fortie, got neere the value of fifteene hundred pounds in those grosse Commodities. This yeere also one went from Plimmouth, set out by divers of the Ile of Wight, and the West Countrie, by the directions and instructions of Sir Ferdinando Gorge, spent their victuals, and returned with nothing.

Proofe 2. 1615. The Virginia Company upon this sent foure good ships; and because I would not undertake it for them, having ingaged my selfe to them of the West, the Londoners entertained the men that came home with me. They set sayle in January, and arrived there in March; they found fish enough untill halfe June, fraughted a ship of three hundred tunnes, went for Spaine, which was taken by the Turkes; one went to Virginia to relieve that Colonie, and two came for England with the greene fish, traine Oyle and Furres within six moneths.

Proofe 3. 1615. In January with two hundred pounds in cash for adventure, and six Gentlemen well furnished, I went from London to the foure Ships was promised, prepared for mee in the West Countrey, but I found no such matter; notwithstanding at the last, with a labyrinth of trouble I

went from Plimoth, with a Ship of two hundred Tunnes, and one of fiftie: when the fishing was done onely with fifteene I was to stay in the Countrey; but ill weather breaking all my Masts, I was forced to returne to Plimoth, where rather then lose all, reimbarking my selfe in a Barke of sixtie Tuns, how I escaped the English Pyrats and the French, and was betrayed by foure Frenchmen of War, I refer you to the description of New England: but my Vice-Admirall, notwithstanding the latenesse of the yeere, setting forth with me in March, the Londoners in January, shee arrived in May, they in March, yet came home well fraught in August, and all her men well, within five moneths, odde dayes.

Proofe 4. 1616. [IV. x. 1839.]

The Londoners ere I returned from France, for all their losse by the Turkes, which was valued about foure thousand pounds sent two more in July; but such courses they tooke by the Canaries to the West Indies, it was ten moneths ere they arrived in New England, wasting in that time their seasons, victuall, and health, yet there they found meanes to refresh themselves, and the one returned, neere fraught with Fish and Traine, within two moneths after.

Proofe 5. 1616.

From Plimoth went foure Ships, onely to Fish and Trade, some in February, some in March, one of two hundred Tuns got thither in a moneth, and went full fraught for Spaine, the rest returned to Plimoth well fraught, and their men well, within five moneths, odde dayes.

Proofe 6. 1616.

From London went two more, one of two hundred Tuns, got thither in sixe weekes, and within sixe weekes after, with fortie foure men and boyes was full fraught, and returned againe into England within five moneths and a few dayes; the other went to the Canaries with dry fish, which they sold at a great rate, for Rials of eight, and as I heard turned Pyrats.

Proofe 7. 1617.

I being at Plimoth provided with three good Ships, yet but fifteene men to stay with me in the Countrey, was Wind-bound three moneths, as was many a hundred

saile more, so that the season being past, the Ships went for New-found-land, whereby my designe was frustrate, which was to me and my friends no small losse, in regard whereof here the Westerne Commissioners, in the behalfe of themselves and the rest of the Company, contracted with me by Articles indented under our hands, to be Admirall of that Country during my life, and in the renewing of their Letters Patents so to be nominated, halfe the fruites of our endevours theirs, the rest our owne; being thus ingaged; now the businesse doth prosper, some of them would willingly forget mee; but I am not the first they have deceived.

Proofe 8. 1618. There was foure good Ships prepared at Plimoth, but by reason of their disagreement, the season so wasted, as onely two went forward, the one being of two hundred Tunnes, returned well fraught for Plimoth, and her men in health, within five moneths; the other of eightie Tuns, went for Bilbow with dry fish, and made a good returne. In this voyage Edward Rowcroft, alias Stallings, a valiant Souldier, that had beene with mee in Virginia, and seven yeeres after went with mee from Plimoth towardes New England, with Thomas Darmer, an understanding and an industrious Gentleman to inhabite it; all whose names, with our proceedings, you may read at large in my description of New England, upon triall before the Judge of the Admiraltie, how when wee had past the worst, for pure cowardise the Master and Sailer ran away with the Ship and all I had, and left mee alone among eight or nine Frenchmen of War, in the yeere 1615. This Stallings went now againe in those Ships, and having some wrong offered him in New England by a Frenchman, he tooke him, and as he writ to mee, he went with her to Virginia with fish, to trade with them for such commodities as they might spare; hee knew both these Countries well, yet hee promised mee the next Spring to meete mee in New England; but the Ship and he perished in Virginia.

Proofe 9. 1619. This yeere againe, divers Ships intending to goe from

Plimoth, so disagreed, as there went but one of two hundred Tunnes, who stayed in the Countrey about six weekes, with thirtie eight men and boyes, had her fraught, which shee sold at the first peny, for two thousand one hundred pounds, besides the Furs: so that every poore Sayler, that had but a single share, had his charges, and sixteene pound ten shillings, for his seven moneths worke. M. Thomas Darmer, having lived about a yeere in New-found-land, returning to Plimoth, went for New England in this Ship, and not onely confirmes what I have writ, but so much more approved of it, that he stayed there with five or six men in a little Boat; finding two or three Frenchmen among the Savages, who had lost their Ship, augmented his company, with whom hee ranged the Coast to Virginia, where he was kindly welcommed and well refreshed; thence returned to New England againe, where having beene a yeere, in his backe returne to Virginia, he was so wounded by the Savages, hee dyed upon it, them escaped were relieved at Virginia. Let not men attribute their great adventures and untimely deaths to unfortunatenesse, but rather wonder how God did so long preserve them, with so small meanes to doe so much, leaving the fruites of their labours, to bee an encouragement to those our poore undertakings; and this for advantage as they writ unto mee, that God had laid this Country open for us, and slaine the most part of the Inhabitants by cruell Wars and a mortall disease; for where I had seene one hundred or two hundred people, there is scarce ten to bee found. From Pembrocks Bay, to Harrintons Bay, there is not twentie; from thence to Cape Anne, some thirtie; from Taulbuts Bay to the River Charles, about fortie, and not any of them touched with any sicknesse, but one poore Frenchman that dyed.

For to make triall this yeere, there is gone sixe or seven sayle from the West Countrey, onely to fish, three of whom are returned, and as I was certainly informed, made so good a voyage, that every Sayler for a single share had twentie pounds for his seven moneths worke, which *Proofe* 10. 1620.

is more then in twentie months hee should have gotten, had he gone for wages any where. Now, though all the former Ships have not made such good voyages, as they expected, by sending opinionated unskilfull men, that had not experienced diligence to save that they tooke, nor take that there was; which now patience and practise hath brought to a reasonable kinde of perfection: in despite of all detractors and calumniations, the Country yet hath satisfied all, the defect hath bin in their using or abusing it, not in it selfe nor mee.

[IV. x. 1840.] *A Plantation in New England. Proofe* 11. 1620.

UPon these inducements, some few well disposed Gentlemen and Merchants of London and other places provided two Ships, the one of one hundred and sixtie Tuns, the other of seventie; they left the Coast of England the three and twentieth of August, with about one hundred and twentie persons, but the next day the lesser Ship sprung a leake, that forced their returne to Plimouth, where discharging her and twentie Passengers, with the great Ship, and a hundred persons besides Sailers, they set saile againe the sixth of September, and the ninth of November fell with Cape James; but being pestred nine weekes in this leaking unwholsome Ship, lying wet in their Cabbins, most of them grew very weake and weary of the Sea, then for want of experience ranging to and againe sixe weekes before they found a place they liked to dwell on, forced to lie on the bare ground without coverture in the extremitie of Winter, fortie of them dyed, and sixtie were left in very weake estate at the Ships comming away, about the fifth of April following, and arrived in England the sixth of May.

Proofe 12. 1620.

Immediately after her arrivall from London, they sent another of fiftie five Tuns to supply them, with thirtie seven persons, they set saile in the beginning of July, but being crossed by Westerly winds, it was the end of August ere they could passe Plimouth, and arrived at New Plimouth in New England the eleventh of November, where they found all the people they left

in April, as is said, lusty and in good health, except six that dyed. Within a moneth they returned here for England, laded with Clapboord, Wainscot, and Walnut, with about three Hogsheads of Beaver skins, and some Saxefras, the thirteenth of December, and drawing neere our Coast, was taken by a Frenchman, set out by the Marquis of Cera Governour of Ile Deu, on the Coast of Poytou, where they kept the Ship, imprisoned the Master and Companie, tooke from them to the value of about five hundred pounds; and after fourteene dayes sent them home with a poore supply of Victuall, their owne being devoured by the Marquis and his hungry servants; they arrived at London the fourteenth of Februarie, leaving all them they found and carried to New England, well and in health, with victuall and Corne sufficient till the next Harvest.

The Copie of a Letter sent by this Ship.

A Letter from New Plimoth.

LOving Cousin, at our arrivall at New Plimoth in New England, wee found all our Friends and Planters in good health, though they were left sicke and weake with very small meanes, the Indians round about us peaceable and friendly, the Countrey very pleasant and temperate, yeelding naturally of it selfe great store of fruits, as Vines of divers sorts in great abundance; there is likewise Walnuts, Chesnuts, Small-nuts and Plums, with much varietie of Flowers, Roots, and Hearbs, no lesse pleasant then wholsome and profitable: no place hath more Goose-berries, and Straw-berries, nor better; Timber of all sorts you have in England, doth cover the Land, that affords Beasts of divers sorts, and great flockes of Turkies, Quailes, Pigeons and Partridges: Many great Lakes abounding with Fish, Fowle, Beavers, and Otters. The Sea affoords us as great plentie of all excellent sorts of Sea-fish, as the Rivers and Iles doth varietie of wild Fowle of most usefull sorts. Mynes we find to our thinking, but neither the goodnesse nor qualitie wee know. Better Graine cannot be then the

Indian Corne, if we will plant it upon as good ground as a man need desire. Wee are all Free-holders, the rent day doth not trouble us, and all those good blessings we have, of which and what wee list in their seasons for taking. Our company are for most part very religious honest people; the Word of God sincerely taught us every Sabbath: so that I know not any thing a contented mind can here want. I desire your friendly care to send my Wife and Children to mee, where I wish all the Friends I have in England, and so I rest

Your loving Kinsman William Hilton.

Proofe 13. 1622. From the West Countrey went ten or twelve Ships to Fish, which were all well fraughted; those that came first at Bilbow, made seventeene pounds a single share, besides Beaver, Otters, and Martins skins; but some of the rest that came to the same Ports, that were already furnished, so glutted the Market, their price was abated, yet all returned so well contented, they are a preparing to goe againe.

For this yeere 1622. There is gone from the West of England onely to fish, thirtie five Ships, and about the last of April two more from London, the one of one hundred Tuns, the other of thirtie, with some sixtie Passengers to supply the Plantation with all necessary provisions. Now though the Turke and French hath beene somewhat too busie, would all the Christian Princes but bee truly at unitie, as his Royall Majesty our Soveraigne Lord and King desireth, seventie saile of good Ships were sufficient to fire the most of his Coasts in the Levant, and make such a guard in the straits of Hellespont, as would make the Great Turke himselfe more afraid in Constantinople, then the smallest Red Crosse crosses the Seas would be, either of any French, Piccaroun, or the Pyrates of Argere.

An Abstract of Letters sent from the Colony in New England, July sixteene, 1622.

[IV. x. 1841.] Since the newes of the Massacre in Virginia, though the Indians continue their wonted friendship, yet are wee

more wary of them then before; for their hands have beene embrued in much English bloud, onely by too much confidence, but not by force.

Here I must intreat a little your favours to digresse. They did not kill the English, because they were Christians, but for their weapons and commodities, that were rare novelties; but now they feare we may beat them out of their Dens, which Lions and Tygers would not admit but by force. But must this be an argument for an Englishman, or discourage any either in Virginia or New England? No: for I have tried them both. For Virginia, I kept that Countrey, with thirtie eight, and had not to eate but what we had from the Savages. When I had ten men able to go abroad, our Commonwealth was very strong: with such a number I ranged that unknowne Countrey fourteene weekes; I had but eighteen to subdue them all, with which great Army I stayed sixe weeks before their greatest Kings habitations, till they had gathered together all the power they could; and yet the Dutchmen sent at a needlesse excessive charge did helpe Powhatan how to betray mee.

Of their numbers wee were uncertaine; but those two honourable Gentlemen, Captaine George Percie, and Captaine Francis West, two of the Phittiplaces, and some other such noble Gentlemen and resolute spirits bore their shares with me, and now living in England, did see me take this murdering Opechankanough, now their Great King by the long lock on his head, with my Pistoll at his breast, I led him among his greatest forces, and before wee parted, made him fill our Barke of twentie Tuns with Corne. When their owne wants was such, I have given them part again in pitty, & others have bought it again to plant their fields. For wronging a Souldier but the value of a peny, I have caused Powhatan send his own men to James Town to receive their punishment, at my discretion. It is true in our greatest extremity they shot me, slue three of my men, and by the folly of them that fled tooke me prisoner; yet God made Pocahontas

Opechancanough taken in the midst of his armie, as Atabalipa was by Piçarra.

the Kings Daughter the meanes to deliver me: and thereby taught mee to know their treacheries to preserve the rest. It was also my chance in single combate to take the King of Paspahegh prisoner, and by keeping him, forced his subjects to worke in Chaines, till I made all the Countrey pay contribution, having little else whereon to live.

Twice in this time I was their President, & none can say in all that time I had a man slain: but for keeping them in that feare I was much blamed both there and heere: yet I left five hundred behind mee that through their confidence in sixe monethes came most to confusion, as you may reade at large in the description of Virginia. When I went first to those desperate designes, it cost me many a forgotten pound to hire men to goe; and procrastination caused more runne away then went. But after the Ice was broken, came many brave Voluntaries: notwithstanding since I came from thence, the Honorable Company have beene humble Suters to his Majestie to get Vagabonds and condemned men to goe thither; nay, so much scorned was the name of Virginia, some did chuse to be hanged ere they would goe thither, and were: yet for all the worst of spite, detraction and discouragement, and this lamentable Massacre, there are more honest men now suters to goe, then ever have been constrained knaves; and it is not unknowne to most men of understanding, how happy many of those Callumners doe thinke themselves, that they might bee admitted, and yet pay for their passage to goe now to Virginia: and had I but meanes to transport as many as would goe, I might have choice of ten thousand that would gladly bee in any of those new places, which were so basely contemned by ungratefull base minds.

To range this Countrie of New England, in like manner I had but eight, as is said, and amongst their bruite conditions I met many of their silly incounters, and without any hurt, God be thanked: when your West Countrie men were many of them wounded, and much

tormented with the Savages that assaulted their Ship, as they did say themselves, in the first yeare I was there 1614. and though Master Hunt then Master with me, did most basely in stealing some Savages from that coast to sell, when he was directed to have gone for Spaine, yet that place was so remote from Capawuck, where Epenew should have fraughted them with Gold Ore, that his fault could be no cause of their bad successe, however it is alledged for an excuse. I speake not this out of vain glory, as it may be some gleaners, or some was never there, may censure mee: but to let all men be assured by those examples, what those Savages are that thus strangely doe murder and betray our Countrie men. But to the purpose.

What is already writ of the healthfulnesse of the ayre, the richnesse of the soyle, the goodnesse of the Woods, the abundance of Fruits, Fish, and Fowle in their season, they still affirme that have beene there now neer two yeeres, and at one draught they have taken one thousand Basses, and in one night twelve hogsheads of Herring. They are building a strong Fort, they hope shortly to finish, in the interim they are well provided: their number is about a hundred persons, all in health, and well neere sixtie Acres of ground well planted with Corne, besides their Gardens well replenished with usefull fruits; and if their Adventurers would but furnish them with necessaries for fishing, their wants would quickly bee supplied. To supply them this sixteenth of October, is going the Paragon, with sixtie seven persons, and all this is done by private mens purses. And to conclude in their owne words, should they write of all plenties they have found, they thinke they should not be beleeved.

For the twentie sixe sayle of Ships, the most I can yet understand is. M. Ambrose Jennens of London, and Master Abraham Jennens of Plimmoth sent (their Abraham) a Ship of two hundred and twentie Tuns, and the Nightingale of Porchmouth of a hundred: whose Fish at the first penie came to 3150 pounds: in all they [IV. x. 1842.]

were five and thirty saile: and wherein New found Land they shared sixe or seven pounds for a common man, in New England they shared fourteene pounds; besides six Dutch and French Ships made wonderfull returnes in
1622. Furres.

Thus you may see plainely the yearely successe from New England (by Virginia) which hath bin so costly to this Kingdome, and so deare to me, which either to see perish or but bleede, pardon me though it passionate me beyond the bounds of modesty, to have bin sufficiently able to foresee it, and had neither power nor meanes how to prevent it. By that acquaintance I have with them, I may call them my children, for they have bin my Wife, my Hawkes, my Hounds, my Cards, my Dice, and in totall my best content, as indifferent to my heart as my left hand to my right: and notwithstanding all those miracles of disasters have crossed both them and me, yet were there not one Englishman remaining (as God be thanked there is some thousands) I would yet begin againe with as small meanes as I did at the first; not for that I have any secret encouragement from any I protest, more then lamentable experiences: for all their Discoveries I can yet heare of, are but Pigs of my owne Sowe; nor more strange to me then to heare one tell mee he hath gone from Billings gate and discovered Greenwich, Gravesend, Tilberry, Quinborow, Lee and Margit, which to those did never heare of them, though they dwell in England, might be made seeme some rare secrets and great Countries unknowne, except the Relation of Master Dirmer. But to returne: It is certaine, from Cannada and New England within these sixe yeares, hath come neere 20000. Bever Skins. Now had each of those Ships transported but some small quantitie of the most increasing Beasts, Fowles, Fruites, Plants and Seedes, as I projected, by this time their increase might have bin sufficient for a thousand men. But the desire of present gaine (in many) is so violent, and the endevours of many undertakers so negligent, every one so regarding

their private gaine, that it is hard to effect any publicke good, and impossible to bring them into a body, rule, or order, unlesse both authority and money assist experiences. It is not a worke for every one to plant a Colony; but when a House is built, it is no hard matter to dwell in it. This requireth all the best parts of art, judgement, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence and experience to doe but neere well: your home-bred ingrossing projectors shall finde there a great difference betwixt saying and doing. But to conclude, the Fishing will goe forward if you plant it or no; whereby a Colonie may be transported with no great charge, that in a short time might provide such fraughts to buy of us there dwelling, as I would hope no Ship should goe or come empty from New England.

The charge of this is onely Salt, Nets, Hookes, Lines, Knives, Irish Rugs, course Cloath, Beades, Glasse, and such like trash, onely for fishing and trade with the Savages, beside our owne necessary provisions, whose endevours will quickly defray all this charge: and the Savages have intreated me to inhabite where I will. Now all these Ships, till this last yeare, have bin fished within a square of two or three leagues, and not one of them all would adventure any further, where questionlesse five hundred saile may have their fraught better then in Island, New found Land, or elsewhere, and be in their markets before the other can have their fish in their Ships, because New Englands fishing begins with February, the other not till mid May: the progression hereof tends much to the advancement of Virginia and the Bermudas, whose emptie Ships may take in their fraught there, and would be a good friend in time of neede to the Inhabitants of New found Land, &c.

Chap. IIII.

A Relation or Journall of a Plantation setled at Plimoth in New England, and proceedings thereof; Printed 1622. and here abbreviated.

Sept. 6. 1620. WEdnesday the sixt of September, the Winde comming East North-east, a fine small gale, we loosed from Plimoth, having bin kindely entertained and curteously used by divers friends there dwelling, and after many difficulties in boisterous stormes, at length by Gods providence upon the ninth of November following, by breake of the day we espied Land, which we deemed to be Cape Cod, and so afterward it proved. Upon the eleventh of November, we came to an anchor in the Bay, which is a good harbour and pleasant Bay, circled round, except in the entrance, which is about foure miles over from land to land, compassed about to the verie Sea with Oakes, Pines, Juniper, Sassafras, and other sweete Wood: it is a harbour wherein 1000. saile of Ships may safely ride, there wee relieved our selves with Wood and Water, and refreshed our people, while our Shallop was fitted to coast the Bay, to search for an habitation: there was the greatest store of Fowle that ever we saw.

No. 9. *Cape Cod.*

[IV. x. 1843.] And everie day we saw Whales playing hard by us, of which in that place, if wee had instruments and meanes to take them, we might have made a verie rich returne, which to our great griefe we wanted. Our Master and his Mate, and others experienced in fishing, professed, wee might have made three or foure thousand pounds worth of Oyle; they preferred it before Greenland Whale-fishing, and purpose the next winter to fish for Whale here: for Cod we assaied, but found none, there is good store no doubt in their season. Neither got we anie fish all the time we lay there, but some few little ones on the shoare. We found great Mussles, and verie

fat and full of Sea Pearle, but we could not eate them, for they made us all sicke that did eate, as well sailers as passengers; they caused to cast and scoure, but they were soone well againe. The Baie is so round and circling, that before we could come to anchor, we went round all the points of the Compasse. We could not come neere the shoare by three quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water, which was a great prejudice to us, for our people going on shoare were forced to wade a Bow shoote or two in going aland, which caused manie to get colds and coughs, for it was manie times freezing cold weather. *Ill Landing.*

This day before we came to harbour, observing some not well affected to unitie and concord, but gave some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together in one bodie, and to submit to such government and Governours, as we should by common consent agree to make and choose, and set our hands to this that followes word for word.

IN the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyall Subjects of our dread Soveraigne Lord King James, by the grace of God of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Having undertaken for the glorie of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our King and Countrie, a Voiage to plant the first Colonie in the Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnely and mutually in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine our selves together in a civill bodie politike, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equall Lawes, Ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the generall good of the Colonie: unto which wee promise all due submission and obedience.

In witnesse whereof we have here under suscribed our names. Cape Cod eleventh of November, in the yeare of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lord King James, of England, France and Ireland, 18. and of Scotland 54. Anno Domino 1620.

The same day so soone as we could we set ashoare fifteene or sixteene men, well armed, with some to fetch Wood, for we had none left; as also to see what the Land was, and what Inhabitants they could meete with, they found it to be a small necke of Land: on this side where we lay is the Bay, and the furthest side the Sea: the ground or earth, sand hils, much like the Downes in Holland, but much better: the crust of the earth a Spits depth, excellent blacke earth: all woodded with Oakes, Pines, Sassafras, Juniper, Birch, Holly, Vines, some Ash, Walnut; the Wood for the most part open and without under-wood, fit either to goe or ride in: at night our people returned, but found not anie person, nor habitation, and laded their Boate with Juniper, which smelled verie sweete and strong, and of which wee burnt the most part of the time we lay there.

Munday the thirteenth of November, we unshipped our Shallop, and drew her on land, to mend and repaire her, having bin forced to cut her downe in bestowing her betwixt the decks, and she was much opened with the peoples lying in her, which kept us long there, for it was sixteene or seventeene daies before the Carpenter had finished her: our people went on shoare to refresh themselves, and our women to wash, as they had great neede: but whilest wee lay thus still, hoping our Shallop would be readie in five or six daies at the furthest, but our Carpenter made slow worke of it, so that some of our people impatient of delay, desired for our better furtherance to travaile by Land into the Countrie, which was not without appearance of danger, not having the Shallop with them, nor meanes to carrie provision, but on their backes, to see whether it might be fit for us to seate in or no, and the rather because as we sailed into

the Harbour, there seemed to be a River opening it selfe into the maine Land; the willingnesse of the persons was liked, but the thing it selfe, in regard of the danger was rather permitted then approved, and so with cautions, directions, and instructions, sixteene men were set out with every man his Musket, Sword, and Corslet, under the conduct of Captaine Miles Standish, unto whom was adjoyned for counsell and advise, William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley.

Wednesday the fifteenth of November, they were set a shoare, and when they had ordered themselves in order of a single File, and marched about the space of a mile, by the Sea they espied five or six people, with a Dogge, comming towards them, who were Savages, who when they saw them, ran into the Woods and whistled the Dogge after them, &c. First, they supposed them to be Master Jones, the Master and some of his men, for they were a shoare, and knew of their comming: but after they knew them to be Indians they marched after them into the Woods, least other of the Indians should lye in Ambush: but when the Indians saw our men following them, they ran away with might and maine; and our men turned out of the Wood after them, for it was the way they intended to goe, but they could not come neere them. They followed them that night about ten miles by the trace of their footings, & saw how they had come the same way they went, and at a turning perceived how they ranne up an hill, to see whether they followed them. At length night came upon them, and they were constrained to take up their lodging, so they set forth three Sentinels, and the rest, some kindled a fire, and others fetched Woods & there held our Randevous that night. In the morning so soone as we could see the trace, we proceeded on our journie, and had the tracke untill wee had compassed the head of a long creake, and there they tooke into another Wood, and we after them, supposing to finde some of their dwellings, but we marched thorow Boughes and Bushes, and under Hils and Vallies, which

Sight of Savages.

[IV. x. 1844.]

tore our verie Armour in peeces, and yet could meete with none of them, nor their houses, nor finde any fresh water, which we greatly desired, and stood in neede off, for we brought neither Beere nor Water with us, and our victuals was onely Bisket and Holland-Cheese, and a little Bottell of Aquavite, so as we were sore a thirst. About ten a clocke we came into a deepe Valley, full of brush, wood-gaile, and long grasse, through which wee found little paths or tracts, and there we saw a Deere, and found Springs of fresh Water, of which we were hartily glad, and sat us downe and drunke our first New England Water, with as much delight as ever we drunke drinke in all our lives.

A Deere and water.

When we had refreshed our selves, we directed our course full South, that wee might come to the shoare, which within a short while after we did, and there made a fire, that they in the Ship might see where we were (as wee had direction) and so marched on towards this supposed River: and as we went in another Valley, we found a fine cleere Pond of fresh water, being about a Musket shot broad, and twise as long: there grew also many small Vines, and Fowle and Deere haunted there; there grew much Sasafras: from thence we went on and found much plain ground about fiftie Acres, fit for the Plow, and some signes where the Indians had formerly planted, their Corne: after this, some thought it best for nearenesse of the River to goe downe and travaile on the Sea sands, by which meanes some of our men were tired, and lagged behinde, so we stayed and gathered them up, and strucke into the Land againe; where we found a little path to certaine heapes of Sand, one whereof was covered with old Mats, and had a woodden thing like a Morter whelmed on the top of it, and an earthen pot laid in a little hole at the end thereof; we musing what it might be, digged and found a Bowe, and as we thought, Arrowes, but they were rotten; We supposed there were many other things, but because we deemed them graves, we put in the Bow againe and made it up

Sepulchers.

as it was, and left the rest untouched, because we thought it would be odious unto them to ransacke their Sepulchers. We went on further and found new stubble of which they had gotten Corne this yeare, and many Walnut trees full of Nuts, and great store of Strawberries, and some Vines; passing thus a field or two, which were not great, we came to another, which had also bin new gotten, and there wee found where an house had beene, and foure or five old Plankes laied together; also we found a great Kettle, which had beene some Ships kettle and brought out of Europe; there was also an heape of sand, made like the former, but it was newly done, wee might see how they had padled it with their hands, which we digged up, and in it we found a little old Basket full of faire Indian Corne, and digged further, and found a fine great new Basket full of very faire Corne of this yeare, with some sixe and thirty goodly eares of Corne, some yellow, and some red, and others mixt with blew, which was a very goodly sight: the Basket was round, and narrow at the top, it held about three or foure bushels, which was as much as two of us could lift up from the ground, and was very handsomely and cunningly made: But whilst we were busie about these things, we set our men Sentinell in a round ring, all but two or three which digged up the Corne. Wee were in suspence, what to doe with it, and the Kettle, and at length after much consultation, we concluded to take the Kettle, and as much of the Corne as wee could carry away with us: and when our Shallop came if we could finde any of the people, and came to parley with them, wee would give them the Kettle againe, and satisfie them for their Corne.

Kettle and Corne found.

So we tooke all the Eares, and put a good deale of the loose Corne in the Kettle, for two men to bring away one Staffe; besides, they that could put away into their Pockets filled the same; the rest wee buried againe, for we were so laden with Armour that we could carry no more. Not farre from this place we found the remainder of an old Fort, or Palizado, which as we conceived had

Palizado.

beene made by some Christians, this was also hard by that place which we thought had been a River, unto which we went and found it so to be, dividing it selfe into two armes by an high banke, standing right by the Cut or Mouth which came from the Sea, that which was next unto us was the lesse, the other arme was more then twice as big, and not unlike to bee an Harbour for Ships; but whether it be a fresh River, or onely an indraught of the Sea, wee had no time to discover, for we had commandement to be out but two dayes. Here also we saw two Canoas, the one on the one side, the other on the other side, we could not beleeve it was a Canoa, till we came neere it, so we returned, leaving the further discovery hereof to our Shallop, and came that night backe againe to the fresh water pond, and there we made our randevous that night, making a great fire, and a Baricado to windward of us, and kept good watch with three Sentinels all night, every one standing when his turne came, while five or sixe inches of Match was burning. It proved a very rainie night. In the morning we tooke our Kettle and sunke it in the Pond, and trimmed our Muskets, for few of them would goe off because of the wet, and so coasted the Wood againe to come home, in which we were shrewdly pusled, and lost our way; as we wandred we came to a tree, where a yong Spirit was bowed downe over a Bowe, and some Acornes strewed underneath; Stephen Hopkins said, it had beene to catch some Deere, so, as we were looking at it, William Bradford being in the Reare, when he came looking also upon it, and as he went about, it gave a sodaine jerke up, and he was immediately caught by the legge: It was a very pretty devise, made with a Roape of their owne making, and having a noose as artificially made, as any Roper in England can make, and as like ours as can be, which wee brought away with us. In the end wee got out of the Wood, and were fallen about a mile too high above the creake, where we saw three Buckes, but we had rather have had one of them. We

They returne.

[IV. x. 1845.]

Devise to catch Deere.

also did spring three couple of Partridges; and as we came along by the creake, we saw great flockes of wilde Geese and Duckes, but they were very fearefull of us. So we marched some while in the Woods, some while on the Sands, and other while in the Water up to the knees, till at length we came neere the Ship, and then we shot off our Peeces, and the long Boate came to fetch us: Master Jones and Master Carver being on the shoare, with many of our people, came to meete us. And thus wee came both weary and welcome home, and delivered in our Corne into the store, to be kept for seede, for we knew not how to come by any, and therefore was very glad, purposing so soone as we could meete with any of the Inhabitants of that place, to make them large satisfaction.

When our Shallop was fit indeede, before she was fully fitted, for there was two daies worke after bestowed on her, there was appointed some foure and twenty men of our owne, and armed, then to goe and make a more full discovery of the Rivers before mentioned. Master Jones was desirous to goe with us, and tooke such of his Saylers as he thought usefull for us, so as we were in all about foure and thirty men: we made Master Jones our Leader, for we thought it best herein to gratifie his kindnesse and forwardnesse. When we were set forth, it proved rough weather and crosse windes, so as we were constrained, some in the Shallop, and others in the long Boate, to row to the neerest shoare the winde would suffer them to goe unto, and then to wade out above the knees; the winde was so strong as the Shallop could not keepe the water, but was forced to harbour there that night, but we marched six or seven miles further, and appointed the Shallop to come to us as soone as they could. It blowed and did snow all that day and night, and frose withall; some of our people that are dead tooke the originall of their death here. The next day about eleven a clocke our Shallop came to us, and we shipped our selves, and the winde being good, we sailed to the

Cold Harbour. River we formerly discovered, which we named Cold Harbour, to which when we came we found it not Navigable for Ships, yet we thought it might be a good harbour for Boates, for it flowes there twelve foot at high water. We landed our men betweene the two creekes, and marched some foure or five miles by the greater of them, and the Shallop followed us: at length night grew on, and our men were tired with marching up and downe the steepe Hils, and deepe Vallies, which lay halfe a foote thicke with Snow: Master Jones wearied with marching, was desirous we should take up our lodging, though some of us would have marched further, so we made there our Randevous for that night, under a few Pine trees, and as it fell out we got three Geese, and six Duckes to our Supper, which we eate with Soldiers stomacks, for we had eaten little all that day. We marched to the place where we had the Corne formerly, which place we called Corne-hill; & digged & found the rest, of which we were very glad: we also digged in a place a little farther off, & found a bottle of Oyle, we went to another place which we had seen before & digged and found more Corn, viz. two or three *Note.* Baskets full of Indian wheat, and a bag of Beans, with a good many of faire wheat-eares; whilst some of us were digging up this, some others found another heape of Corn, which they digged up also, so as we had in all about ten Bushels, which will serve us sufficiently for Seede. And sure it was Gods good providence that we found this corn, for else we knew not how we should have done, for we knew not how we should finde, or meete with any of the Indians, except it be to doe us a mischiefe. Also we had never in all likelihood seene a graine of it, if we had not made our first Journey; for *Frost and Snow.* the ground was now covered with Snow, and so hard frosen, that we were faine with our Curtlaxes and short Swords, to hew and carve the ground a foote deepe, and then wrest it up with leavers, for we had forgot to bring other Tooles: whilst we were in this imploiment, foule

weather being towards, M. Jones was earnest to goe aboord, but sundry of us desired to make further discovery, and to finde out the Indians habitations, so we sent home with him our weakest people, and some that were sicke, and all the Corne, and eighteene of us staied still, and lodged there that night, & desired that the Shallop might returne to us next day, and bring us some Mattockes and Spades with them.

When wee had marched five or six miles into the Woods, and could find no signes of any people, wee returned againe another way, and as we came into the plaine ground, wee found a place like a grave, but it was much bigger and longer then any wee had yet seene. It was also covered with boords, so as wee mused what it should be, and resolved to dig it up; where we found, first a Mat, and under that a faire Bow, and there another [IV. x. 1846.] Mat, and under that a Boord about three quarters long, finely carved and painted, with three Tynes, or broches on the top, like a Crown; also betweene the Mats we found Bowles, Trayes, Dishes, and such like Trinkets; at length wee came to a faire new Mat, and under that two Bundles, the one bigger, the other lesse, we opened the greater and found in it a great quantitie of fine and perfect Red Powder, and in it the bones and skull of a man. The skull had fine yellow haire still on it, and some of the flesh unconsumed; there was bound up with a Knife, a Packneedle, and two or three old Iron things. It was bound up in a Saylers Canvas Casacke, and a payre of Cloth Breeches; the Red Powder was a kind of Embaulment, and yeelded a strong, but no offensive smell; It was as fine as any Flower. We opened the lesse bundle like wise, and found of the same Powder in it, and the bones and head of a little childe, about the legges, and other parts of it was Bound strings, and Bracelets of fine white Beads; there was also by it a little Bow, about three quarters long, and some other odde knackes: we brought sundry of the pretiest things away with us, and covered the Corps up againe. After

this, we digged in sundry like places, but found no more Corne, nor any things else but graves: Whilest we were thus ranging and searching, two of the Saylers, which *Two houses.* were newly come on the shoare, by chance espied two houses, which had beene lately dwelt in, but the people were gone. They having their Peeces, and hearing no body, entred the houses, and tooke out some thing, and durst not stay but came again & told us; so some seven or eight of us went with them, and found how wee had gone within a flight shot of them before. The houses were made with long young Sapling Trees bended, and both ends stucke into the ground; they were made round, like unto an Arbour, and covered downe to the ground with thicke and well wrought Mats, and the doore was not over a yard high, made of a Mat to open: the Chimney was a wide open hole in the top, for which they had a Mat to cover it close when they pleased, one might stand and goe upright in them; in the midst of them were foure little Trunches knockt into the ground, and small stickes laid over, on which they hung their Pots, and what they had to seeth: round about the fire they lay on Mats, which are their Beds. The Houses were double matted, for as they were matted without, so were they within, with newer and fairer Mats. In the *Houshold stuffe.* Houses wee found Woodden Bowles, Trayes and Dishes, Earthen Pots, Hand-baskets made of Crab-shells, wrought together: also an English Payle or Bucket, it wanted a Baile, but it had two Iron Eares: there was also Baskets of sundry sorts, bigger, and some lesser, finer, and some courser: some were curiously wrought with Blacke and White in prettie workes, and sundry other of their houshold stuffe: wee found also two or three Deeres Heads, one whereof had been newly killed, for it was still fresh: there was also a company of Deeres Feete, stucke up in the Houses, Harts Hornes, and Eagles Clawes, and sundry such like things there was: also two or three Baskets full of parched Acornes, pieces of Fish, and a piece of a broyled Herring. We found also a

little Silke Grasse, and a little Tobacco Seed, with some other Seeds which wee knew not: without was sundry bundles of Flags, and Sedge, Bull-rushes, and other stuffe to make Mats; there was thrust into an hollow Tree, two or three pieces of Venison, but wee thought it fitter for the Dogges then for us: some of the best things wee tooke away with us, and left the houses standing still as they were: Much disputation fell out about the place where wee should abide; and a Company was chosen to goe out upon a third Discovery (whilest some were imployed in this Discovery, it pleased God that Mistris White was brought a bed of a Sonne, which was called Peregrine.)

Third discoverie.

Wednesday the sixt of December we set out, being very cold and hard weather, we were a long while after wee lanched from the Ship, before wee could get cleere of a Sandy Point, which lay within lesse then a furlong of the same. In which time, two were very sicke, and Edward Tilley had like to have founded with cold; the Gunner was also sicke unto Death (but hope of trucking made him to goe) and so remained all that day, and the next night: at length wee got cleare of the Sandy Point, and got up our Sayles, and within an houre or two wee got under the weather shoare, and then had smoother water and better sayling, but it was very cold, for the water froze on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of Iron: wee sayled sixe or seven leagues by the shoare, but saw neither River nor Creeke, at length wee met with a tongue of Land, being flat off from the shoare, with a Sandy point, wee bore up to gaine the Point, and found there a faire Income or Rode, of a Bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and some two or three in length, but wee made right over to the Land before us, and left the discoverie of this Income till the next day: as wee drew neere to the shoare, wee espied some ten or twelve Indians, very busie about a blacke thing, what it was wee could not tell, till afterwards they saw us, and ran to and fro, as if they had beene carrying

Extreme cold.

something away, wee landed a league or two from them, and had much adoe to put a shoare any where, it lay so full of flat Sands: when wee came to shoare, we made us a Baricado, and got fire Wood, and set out our Sentinells, and betooke us to our lodging, such as it was; wee saw the smoake of the fire which the Savages made that night, about foure or five miles from us: in the morning wee divided our Company, some eight in the Shallop, and the rest on the shoare went to discover this place, but we found it onely to be a Bay, without either River or Creeke comming into it. This place the most were minded wee should call, the Grampus Bay, because wee found many of them there: we followed the tract of the Indians bare feet a good way on the Sands, at length we saw here they strucke into the Woods by the side of a Pond, as we went to view the place, one said, he thought he saw an Indian-house among the Trees, so went up to see: and here we and the Shallop lost sight one of another till night, it being now about nine or ten a clocke; so we lite on a path, but saw no house, and followed a great way into the Woods, at length we found where Corne had been set, but not that yeere; anon we found a great burying place, one part whereof was incompassed with a large Palizado, like a Church-yard, with young spires foure or five yards long, set as close one by another as they could two or three foot in the ground; within it was full of Graves, some bigger and some lesse, some were also paled about, and others had like an Indian-house made over them, but not matted: those Graves were more sumptuous then those at Corne-hill, yet we digged none of them up, only viewed them and went our way: without the Palizado were Graves also, but not so costly. We went ranging up and downe till the Sunne began to draw low, and then we hasted out of the Woods, that we might come to our Shallop. By that time we had done, and our Shallop come to us it was within night, and we fed upon such victualls as we had, and betooke us to our rest after we had set out

Grampus Bay. They found Grampuses dead, two inches thicke of fat, and five or six paces long. [IV. x. 1847.]

our watch. About midnight we heard a great and hideous cry, and our Sentinell called, Arme, Arme. So we bestirred our selves and shot off a couple of Muskets and noise ceased: we concluded, that it was a company of Wolves & Foxes, for one told us he had heard such a noise in New-found-land. About five a clocke in the morning we began to be stirring, upon a sudden wee heard a great & strange cry which we knew to be the same voices, though they varied their notes; one of the company being abroad came running in, and cried, They are men, Indians, Indians; and withall, their Arrowes came flying amongst us, our men ran out with all speed to recover their Armes. The cry of our enemies was dreadfull, especially, when our men ran out to recover their Armes, their note was after this manner, Woath woach ha ha hach woach: our men were no sooner come to their Armes, but the enemy was readie to assault them.

There was a lustie man, and no whit lesse valiant, who was thought to be their Captain, stood behind a Tree within halfe a Musket shot of us, and there let his Arrowes flie at us; hee stood three shots off a Musket, at length one tooke as he said full ayme at him, after which he gave an extraordinarie cry and away they went all, wee followed them about a quarter of a mile, but wee left sixe to keepe our Shallop, for wee were carefull of our businesse. Wee tooke up eighteene of their Arrowes, which wee had sent to England by Master Jones, some whereof were headed with brasse, others with Harts horne, and others with Eagles clawes; many more no doubt were shot, for these wee found were almost covered with leaves: yet by the speciall providence of God, none of them either hit or hurt us. On Munday we found a very good Harbour for our shipping, we marched also into the Land, and found divers corne Fields and little running Brookes, a place verie good for scituation, so we returned to our Ship againe with good newes to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts.

A good Harbour.

This Harbour is a Bay greater then Cape Cod, compassed with a goodly Land, and in the Bay two fine Ilands uninhabited, wherein are nothing but Woods, Okes, Pines, Wal-nut, Beech, Sasifras, Vines, and other Trees which we know not. This Bay is a most hopefull place, innumerable store of Fowle, and excellent good, and cannot but be of Fish in their seasons: Skote, Cod, Turbot and Herring we have tasted of, abundance of Musles the greatest and best that ever we saw; Crabs and Lobsters, in their time infinite: It is in fashion like a Cikle or Fish-hooke.

The eighteenth we went along the Coast in the Woods, some seven or eight mile, but saw not an Indian, nor an Indian house, onely we found where formerly had beene some Inhabitants, and where they had planted their Corne: wee found not any Navigable River, but foure or five small running Brookes of very fresh water, that all run into the Sea. The Land for the crust of the earth is a spits depth, excellent blacke mould and fat in some places; two or three great Okes, but not very thicke, Pines, Walnuts, Beech, Ash, Birch, Hasell, Holley, Asp, Sasifras, in abundance, and Vines every where, Cherry-trees, Plum-trees, and many other which we know not; many kinds of Hearbs we found here in Winter, as Strawberry leaves innumerable, Sorrell, Yarow, Carvell, Brook-lime, Liver-wort, Water-cresses, great store of Leeks and Onyons, and an excellent strong kind of Flax and Hempe. Here is Sand, Gravell, and excellent Clay, no better in the World, excellent for Pots, and will wash like Sope, and great store of Stone, though somewhat soft, and the best water that ever we drunke, and the Brookes now begin to be full of Fish; that night many being weary with marching, we went aboord againe.

The nineteenth of December, after our landing and viewing of the places, so well as we could we came to a conclusion, by most voyces, to set on the Maine Land, on the first place, on an high ground, where there is a great deale of Land cleered, and hath beene planted with

Corne three or foure yeeres agoe, and there is a very sweet Brook runs under the Hill side, and many delicate Springs of as good water as can be drunke, and where wee may harbour our Shallops and Boates exceeding well, and in this Brooke is much good Fish in their seasons. On the further side of the River also much Corne ground cleered, in one Field is a great Hill, on which wee point to make a plat-forme, and plant our Ordnance, which will command all round about, from thence we may see into the Bay, and far into the Sea, and we may see thence Cape Cod.

Saturday the three and twentieth, so many of us as could went on shore, felled and carried timber, to provide themselves stuffe for building. Munday the five and twentieth, wee went on shoare, some to fell timber, some to sawe, some to rive, and some to carry, so no man rested all that day. [IV. x. 1848.]

Munday the five and twentieth, being Christmasse day, we began to drinke water aboord, but at night the Master caused us to have some Beer, and so on boord we had divers times now & then some Beere, but on shoare none at all. Wee tooke notice how many Families they were, willing all single men that had no wives to joyne with some Family as they thought fit, that so wee might build fewer houses, which was done, and we reduced them to nineteene Families; to greater Families we allotted larger plots, to every person halfe a Pole in breadth, and three in length, and so Lots were cast where every man should lie, which was done, and staked out; we thought this proportion was large enough at the first, for Houses and Gardens to impale them round, considering the weakenesse of our people, many of them growing ill with colds, for our former Discoveries in frost and stormes, and the wading at Cape Cod had brought much weaknesse amongst us, which increased every day more and more, and after was the cause of many of our deaths.

Friday and Saturday wee fitted our selves for our labour, but our people on shoare were much troubled

and discouraged with rayne and wet that day, being very stormy and cold; wee saw great smoakes of fire made by the Indians, about six or seven miles from us as wee conjectured.

Thursday the fourth of Januarie, Captaine Miles Standish, with foure or five more, went to see if they could meete with any of the Savages in that place where the fires was made, they went to some of their houses but not lately inhabited, yet could they not meet with any; as they came home, they shot at an Eagle and killed her, which was excellent meat; It was hardly to be discerned from Mutton.

Tuesday the ninth of Janury, was a reasonable faire day, and wee went to labour that day in the building of our Towne, in two rowes of houses for more safetie: wee divided by lot the plot of ground whereon to build our Towne: After the proportion formerly allotted, we agreed that every man should build his owne house, thinking by that course men would make more hast then working in common: the common house, in which for the first we made our Rendevous, being neere finished, wanting only covering, it being about twentie foot square, some should make morter, and some gather thatch, so that in foure daies halfe of it was thatched, frost and foule weather hindered us much; this time of the yeare seldome could we worke halfe the weeke.

On the twelfth day, John Goodman and Peter Browne at dinner time tooke their meat in their hands, and would go walke and refresh themselves, so going a little off they find a Lake of water, and having a great Mastiffe bitch with them, and a Spannell; by the water side they found a great Deere, the Dogs chased him, and they followed so far as they lost themselves, and could not find the way backe, they wandred all that afternoone being wet, and at night did freeze and snow, they were slenderly apparelled, and had no weapons but each one his Cicle, nor any victualls, they ranged up and downe and could finde none of the Savages habitations. When it drew

to night they were much perplexed, for they could find neither harbour nor meat, but in frost and snow, were forced to make the Earth their bed, and the Element their covering, and another thing did very much terrifie them; they heard as they thought two Lions roaring exceedingly for a long time together, and a third, that they thought was very neere them: so not knowing what to doe, they resolved to climbe up into a Tree as the safest refuge, though that would prove an intollerable cold lodging. They stood at the Trees root, that when the Lions came they might take their opportunitie of climbing up, the Bitch they were faine to hold by the necke, for shee would have beene gone to the Lion; but it pleased God so to dispose, that the wild Beasts came not: so they walked up and downe under the Tree all night, it was an extreame cold night; so soone as it was light they travelled againe, passing by many Lakes, and Brookes, and Woods, and in one place where the Savages had burnt the space of five miles in length, which is a fine Champion Countrey, and even. In the afternoon it pleased God from an high Hill, they discovered the two Iles in the Bay, and so that night got to the Plantation, being ready to faint with travell and want of victualls, and almost famished with cold, John Goodman was faine to have his shooes cut off his feet they were so swelled with cold, and it was a long while after ere hee was able to goe. The house was fired occasionally by a sparke that flew into the thatch, which instantly burnt it all up, but the roofe stood and little hurt; the most losse was Master Carvers and William Bradfords, who then lay sicke in bed, and if they had not risen with good speed, had beene blowne up with powder: but through Gods mercy they had no harme; the house was as full of beds as they could lie one by another, and their Muskets charged, but blessed be God there was no harme done.

Munday the fifteenth day, it rained much all day, that they on ship-boord could not goe on shoare, nor they on shoare doe any labour but were all wet. Tuesday,

Wednesday, Thursday, were very faire Sun-shiny daies, as if it had beene in April, and our people so many as were in health wrought chearefully. The ninteenth day wee resolved to make a Shed, to put our common provision in, of which some were already set on shoare, but at noone it rained that wee could not worke. This day in the evening, John Goodman went abroad to use his lame feet, that were pittyfully ill with the cold hee had got, having a little Spannell with him, a little way from the Plantation, two great Wolves ran after the Dog, the Dog ran to him, and betwixt his legs for succour, he had nothing in his hand, but tooke up a sticke and threw at one of them and hit him, and they presently ran both away, but came againe; he got a Paile boord in his hand, and they sate both on their tailes, grinning at him a good while and went their way and left him.

[IV. x. 1849.]

Two great Wolves.

Saturday the seventeenth day in the morning, we called a meeting for the establishing of Military Orders amongst our selves, and we chose Miles Standish our Captaine, and gave him authoritie of command in affayres.

Saturday the third of March, the wind was South, the morning mystie, but towards noone warme and faire weather: the Birds sang in the Woods most pleasantly; at one of the clocke it thundred, which was the first we heard in that Countrey, it was strong and great claps, but short, but after an houre it rayned very sadly till midnight. Wednesday the seventh of March, the wind was full East, cold, but faire.

Thunder.

Conference with Savages.

Friday the sixteenth, there presented himselfe a Savage, which caused an Alarum, he very boldly came all alone and along the houses straight to the Randevous, where we intercepted him, not suffering him to goe in, as undoubtedly he would out of his boldnesse hee saluted us in English, and bad us welcome, for he had learned some broken English amongst the Englishmen that came to fish at Monhiggan, and knew by name the most of the Captaines, Commanders, and Masters, that usually come; he was a man free in speech, so farre as he could

expresse his minde, and of a seemly carriage, we questioned him of many things, he was the first Savage we could meet withall; hee said he was not of those parts, but of Morattiggon, and one of the Sagamores or Lords thereof, had beene eight moneths in these parts, it lying hence a daies saile with a great wind, and five dayes by Land: he discoursed of the whole Countrey, and of every Province, and of their Sagamores, and their number of men, and strength. The wind beginning to rise a little, wee cast a Horsemans Coat about him, for he was starke naked, only a leather about his wast, with a fringe about a span long, or little more; he had a Bow and two Arrowes, the one headed, and the other unheaded, he was a tall straight man, the haire of his head blacke, long behind, only short before, none on his face at all; he asked some Beere, but we gave him Strong-water and Bisket, and Butter, and Cheese, and Pudding, and a piece of a Mallerd; all which he liked wel, and had bin acquainted with such amongst the English; he told us the place where we now live, is called, Patuxet, and that *Patuxet.* about foure yeeres agoe all the Inhabitants died of an *People all dead of a plague.* extraordinary plague, and there is neither man, woman, nor child remaining, as indeed we have found none, so as there is none to hinder our possession, or to lay claime unto it. All the afternoone we spent in communication with him, we would gladly have been rid of him at night, but he was not willing to goe this night, then we thought to carry him on ship-boord, wherwith hee was wel content and went into the Shallop, but the wind was high and water scant, that it could not returne backe. We lodged that night at Steven Hopkins house, and watched him: the next day he went away back to the Masasoyts, from *Masasoyts.* whence he said he came, who are our next bordering neighbours, they are sixtie strong, as he saith. The Nausites are as neere South-east of them, and are a *Nausites.* hundred strong, and those were they of whom our people were encountered, as we before related. They are much incensed and provoked against the English, and about

eight moneths agoe slew three Englishmen, and two more hardly escaped by flight to Monhiggon; they were Sir Ferdinando Gorge his men, as this Savage told us, as he did likewise of the Huggery, that is, Fight, that our discoverers had with the Nausites, and of our Tooles they were taken out of the Woods, which we willed him should be brought againe, otherwise we would right our selves. These people are ill affected towards the English, by reason of one Hunt, a Master of a Ship, who deceived the people, and got them under colour of trucking with them, twentie out of this very place where we inhabite, and seven men from the Nausites, and carried them away and sold them for Slaves, like a wretched man (for twentie pound a man) that care not what mischiefe he doth for his profit.

Hunts wickedness.

Saturday in the morning we dismissed the Savage, and gave him a Knife, a Bracelet, and a Ring; he promised within a night or two to come again, & to bring with him some of the Massasoyts our neighbours, with such Beavers skins as they had to trucke with us. Saturday and Sunday reasonable faire dayes. On this day came againe the Savage, and brought with him five other tall proper men, they had every man a Deeres skin on him, and the principall of them had a wild Cats skin, or such like on the one arme: they had most of them long hosen up to their groynes, close made; and above their groynes to their wast another leather, they were altogether like the Irish-trouses; they are of complexion like our English Gipseys, no haire or very little on their faces, on their heads long haire to the shoulders, onely cut before; some trussed up before with a feather, broad wise, like a fan, another a Fox taile hanging out: these left (according to our charge given him before) their Bowes and Arrowes a quarter of a mile from our Towne, we gave them entertainment as we thought was fitting them. They did eate liberally of our English victuals, they made semblance unto us of friendship and amitie; they sang and danced after this manner like Anticks; they brought with him

Savages described.

in a thing like a Bow-case (which the principall of them had about his wast) a little of their Corne pounded to [IV. x. 1850.] powder, which put to a little water they eate: he had a little Tobacco in a bag, but none of them drunke but when he listed, some of them had their faces painted blacke, from the forehead to the chin, foure or five fingers broad; others after other fashions, as they liked: they brought three or foure Skins, but wee would not trucke with them all that day, but wished them to bring more, and we would trucke for all, which they promised within a night or two, and would leave these behind them, though wee were not willing they should, and they brought all our Tooles againe which were taken in the Woods, in our mens absence, so because of the day we dismissed them so soone as we could. But Samoset our first acquaintance, either was sicke, or fained himselfe so, and would not goe with them, and staied with us till Wednesday morning: Then we sent him to them, to know the reason they came not according to their words, and we gave him an Hat, a paire of Stockings and Shooes, a Shirt, and a piece of Cloth to tye about his wast.

Thursday the 22. of March, was a very faire warme day. About noone we met againe about our publike businesse, but we had scarce beene an houre together, but Samoset came againe, and Squanto, the onely Native of Patuxat, where wee now inhabite, who was one of the twentie Captives that by Hunt were carried away, and had beene in England, and dwelt in Cornhill with Master John Slanie a Merchant, and could speake a little English, with three others, and they brought them some few Skins to trucke, and some Red Herrings newly taken and dried, but not salted, and signified unto us, that there Great Sagamore Massasoyt was hard by, with Quadequina his brother, and all their men. They could not well expresse in English what they would, but after an houre the King came to the top of an Hill over against us, and had in his trayne sixtie men, that we could well behold them, and they us: wee were not willing to send our Governour

to them, and they unwilling to come to us, so Squanto went againe unto him, who brought word that wee should send one to parley with him, which we did, which was Edward Winsloe, to know his mind, and to signifie the mind and will of our Governor, which was to have trading and peace with him. Wee sent to the King a paire of Knives, and a Copper Chaine, with a Jewell at it. To Quadequina we sent likewise a Knife and a Jewell to hang in his eare, and withall a Pot of strong water, a good quantitie of Bisket, and some Butter, which were all willingly accepted: our Messenger made a speech unto him, that King James saluted him with words of Love and Peace, and did accept of him as his Friend and Alley, and that our Governour desired to see him and to trucke with him, and to confirme a Peace with him, as his next neighbour: hee liked well of the speech, and heard it attentively, though the Interpreters did not well expresse it; after hee had eaten and drunk himselfe, & given the rest to his company, he looked upon our Messengers Sword and Armor which he had on, with intimation of his desire to buy it, but on the other side, our Messenger shewed his unwillingnesse to part with it: In the end he left him in the custodie of Quadequina his brother, and came over the Brook, and some twenty men following him, leaving all their Bowes and Arrowes behind them. We kept six or seven as Hostages for our Messenger; Cap. Standish and M. Williamson met the King at the Brook, with halfe a dozen Musketiers, they saluted him and he them, so one going over, the one on the one side, and the other on the other, conducted him to an house then in building, where wee placed a greene Rug, and three or foure Cushions. Then instantly came our Governour, with a Drum and Trumpet after him, and some few Musketiers. After salutations, our Governour kissing his hand, the King kissed him, and so they sate downe. The Governour called for some strong water, and drunke to him, and he drunke a great draught that made him sweate all the while after; hee called for a little

fresh meate, which the King did eate willingly, and did give his followers. Then they treated of Peace, which was;

The agreements of peace betweene us and Massasoyt.

First, That neither he nor any of his should injure or do hurt to any of our people. Secondly, & if any of his did hurt to any of ours, he should send the offender, that we might punish him. Thirdly, that if any of our tooles were taken away when our people were at work, he should cause them to bee restored, and if ours did any harme to any of his, we would doe the like to them. Fourthly, If any did unjustly war against him we would aide him; If any did war against us, he should aide us. Fifthly, He should send to his neighbor Confederates, to certifie them of this, that they might not wrong us, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of Peace. Sixthly, That when their men came to us, they should leave their Bowes and Arrowes behind them, as wee should doe our Peeces when we came to them. Lastly, that doing thus, King James would esteeme of him as his Friend and Ally: all which the King seemed to like well, and it was applauded of his followers, all the while he sate by the Governour hee trembled for feare. In his person hee is a very lusty man, in his best yeeres, an able body, grave of countenance, and spare of speech: In his attyre little or nothing differing from the rest of his followers, onely in a great Chaine of white bone Beades about his neck, & at it behind his neck hangs a little bag of Tobacco, which he drank and gave us to drinke; his face was painted with a sad Red like Murry, and oyled both head and face, that hee looked greasily: All his followers likewise, were in their faces in part or in whole painted, some Blacke, some Red, some Yellow, and some White, some with Crosses, and other Antick workes, some had Skins on them, and some naked, all strong, tall men in appearance. The King had his bosome hanging in a string, a great long Knife; he marvelled much at our Trumpet, and some of his men would sound it as well as they could; Samoset and Squanto, stayed all night with

us, and the King and all his men lay all night in the Wood, not above halfe an English mile from us, and all their wives and women with them, they said, that within eight or nine daies, they would come and set Corne on the other side of the Brooke, and dwell there all Summer, which is hard by us. That night wee kept good watch, but there was no appearance of danger; the next morning divers of our people came over to us, hoping to get some victualls as wee imagined, some of them told us the King would have some of us come see him; Captaine Standish, and Isaac Alderton went venterously, who were welcommed of him after their manner: he gave them three or foure ground Nuts, and some Tobacco. Wee cannot yet conceive, but that hee is willing to have peace with us, for they have seene our people sometimes alone two or three in the Woods at worke and Fowling, when as they offered them no harme, as they might easily have done, and especially because hee hath a potent Adversarie, the Narowhiganseis, that are at warre with him, against whom hee thinkes wee may bee some strength to him, for our Peeces are terrible unto them. This morning they staied till ten or eleven of the clocke, and our Governour bid them send the Kings Kettle, and filled it full of Pease, which pleased them well, and so they went their way.

Friday was a very faire day, Samoset and Squanto stil remained with us, Squanto went at noon to fish for Eeles, at night he came home with as many as hee could well lift in one hand, which our people were glad of, they were fat and sweete, hee trod them out with his feete, and so caught them with his hands without any other Instrument. This day we proceeded on with our common businesse, from which we had bin so often hindred by the Savages comming, and concluded both of Militarie Orders, and of some Lawes and Orders as we thought behoovefull for our present estate, and condition, and likewise chuse our Governour for this yeere, which was Master John Carver, a man well approved amongst us.

IT seemed good to the Company for many considerations, to send some amongst them to Massasoyt, the greatest Commander amongst the Savages, bordering about us; partly to know where to find them, if occasion served, as also to see their strength, discover the Countrey, prevent abuses in their disorderly comming unto us, make satisfaction for some conceived injuries to be done on our parts, and to continue the league of Peace and Friendship betweene them and us. For these, and the like ends, it pleased the Governour to make choice of Steven Hopkins, and Edward Winsloe to goe unto him, and having a fit opportunitie, by reason of a Savage, called Tisquantum (that could speake English) comming unto us: with all expedition provided a Horsemans Coat, of Red Cotton, and laced with a slight Lace for a Present, that both they and their message might bee the more acceptable amongs them.

A journey to Packanokik, the Habitation of the Great King Massosoyt.

Wee set forward the tenth of June, about nine a clock in the morning, our guide resolving that night to rest at Namaschet, a Towne under Massasoyt, and conceived by us to be very neere, because the Inhabitants flocked so thicke upon every slight occasion amongst us: but wee found it to bee some fifteene English miles. On the way wee found some ten or twelve men, women, and children, which had pestered us, till wee were wearie of them, perceiving that (as the manner of them all is) where victuall is easiliest to be got, there they live, especially in the Summer: by reason whereof, our Bay affording many Lobsters, they resort every Spring Tide thither: and now returned with us to Namaschet. Thither we came about three a clocke after noone, the Inhabitants entertaining us with joy, in the best manner they could, giving us a kind of bread, called by them Maizium, and the spawne of Shads, which then they got in abundance, in so much as they gave us spoones to eate them, with these they boyled mustie Acornes, but of the Shads wee eate heartily. After this they desired one of our men to shoot at a Crow, complaining what damage they sustained in their Corne

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by them, who shooting some fourescore off and killing, they much admired it, as other shots on other occasions. After this Tisquantum told us wee should hardly in one day reach Pakanokick, moving us to go some eight miles further, where we should find more store and better victuals then there: Being willing to hasten our journey we went, and came thither at Sunne setting, where we found many of the Namascheucks (they so calling the men of Namaschet) fishing upon a Ware which they had made on a River which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of Basse. These welcommed us also, gave us of their fish, and we them of our victualls, not doubting but we should have enough where ere we came. There we lodged in the open fields: for houses they had none, though they spent the most of the Summer there. The head of this River is reported to bee not farre from the place of our abode, upon it are, and have beene many Townes, it being a good length. The ground is very good on both sides, it being for the most part cleered: *Great plague.* Thousands of men have lived there, which died in a great plague not long since: and pittie it was and is to see, so many goodly fields, and so well seated, without men to dresse and manure the same. Upon this River dwelleth Massasoyt.

The next morning wee brake our fast, tooke our leave and departed, being then accompanied with some sixe Savages, having gone about sixe miles by the River side, at a knowne shoale place, it being low water, they spake to us to put off our breeches, for wee must wade thorow. [IV. x. 1852.] Here let me not forget the valour and courage of some of the Savages, on the opposite side of the River, for there were remaining alive onely two men, both aged, especially the one being above threescore: These two espying a company of men entring the River, ran very swiftly and low in the grasse to meet us at the Banke, where with shrill voyces and great courage, standing charged upon us with their Bowes, they demanded what wee were, supposing us to be enemies, and thinking to take advan-

tage on us in the water: but seeing wee were friends, they welcommed us with such food as they had, and we bestowed a small bracelet of Beads on them. Thus farre we are sure the Tide ebbes and flowes.

Having here againe refreshed our selves we proceeded in our Journey, the weather being verie hot for travell, yet the Countrey so well watered, that a man could scarce be drie, but hee should have a Spring at hand to coole his thirst, beside small Rivers in abundance: But the Savages will not willingly drinke, but at a Spring head. When we came to any small Brooke, where no Bridge was, two of them desired to carry us through of their owne accords, also fearing wee were or would bee wearie, offered to carrie our Peeces, also if wee would lay off any of our clothes, wee should have them carried: and as the one of them had found more speciall kindnesse from one of the Messengers, and the other Savage from the other; so they shewed their thankfulnesse accordingly in affording us all helpe, and furtherance in the Journey.

As we passed along, we observed that there were few places by the River, but had beene inhabited, by reason whereof much ground was cleere, save of weeds which grew higher then our heads. There is much good Timber, both Oake, Walnut-tree, Firre, Beech, and exceeding great Chesnut-trees.

After we came to a Towne of Massasoyts, where we eat Oysters and other Fish. From thence we went to Packanokick, but Massasoyt was not at home, there we staied, he being sent for: when newes was brought of his comming, our guide Tisquantum requested that at our meeting, wee would discharge our Peeces, but one of us going about to charge his Peece, the women and children through feare to see them take up his Peece, ran away, and could not be pacified, till he laid it downe againe, who afterward were better informed by our Interpreter. Massasoyt being come, wee discharged our Peeces, and saluted him, who after their manner kindly welcommed us, and tooke us into his house, and set us

downe by him, where having delivered our Message and Presents, and having put the Coat on his backe, and the Chaine about his necke, hee was not a little proud to behold himselfe, and his men also to see their King so bravely attired. For answere to our Message, he told us we were welcome, and he would gladly continue that Peace and Friendship which was betweene him and us: and for his men they should no more pester us as they had done: Also, that hee would send to Paomet, and would helpe us with Corne for Seed, according to our request.

This being done, his men gathered neere unto him, to whom hee turned himselfe, and made a great Speech; they sometime interposing, and as it were, confirming and applauding him in that he said. The meaning whereof was (as farre as wee could learne) thus; Was not hee Massasoyt Commander of the Countrey about them? Was not such a Towne his and the people of it? and should they not bring their skins unto us. After this manner, he named at least thirtie places, and their answere was as aforesaid to every one: so that as it was delightfull, it was tedious unto us. This being ended, he lighted Tobacco for us, and fell to discoursing of England, and of the Kings Majestie, marvelling that hee would live without a Wife. Also hee talked of the Frenchmen, bidding us not to suffer them to come to Narohiganset, for it was King James his Countrey, and he also was King James his man. Late it grew, but victualls he offered none; for indeed he had not any, being he came so newly home. So we desired to goe to rest: hee laid us on the bed with himselfe and his wife, they at the one end and wee at the other, it being onely plankes laid a foot from the ground, and a thinne Mat upon them. Two more of his chiefe men for want of roome pressed by and upon us; so that wee were worse wearie of our lodging then of our journey.

Royall entertainment.

The next day being Thursday, many of their Sachmis, or pettie Governours came to see us, and many of their

men also. There they went to their manner of Games for Skins and Knives. There we challenged them to shoot with them for Skins: but they durst not: onely they desired to see one of us shoot at a marke, who shooting with Haile-shot, they wondred to see the marke so full of holes. About one a clocke, Massasoyt brought two Fishes that he had shot, they were like Breame, but three times so bigge, and better meat. These being boyled, there were at least fortie looked for share in them, the most eate of them: This meale onely we had in two nights and a day, and had not one of us bought a Partridge, we had taken our Journey fasting: Very importunate hee was to have us stay with them longer: But wee desired to keepe the Sabbath at home, and feared wee should either bee light-headed for want of sleepe, for what with bad lodging, the Savages barbarous singing (for they use to sing themselves asleepe) Lice and Fleas within doores, and Muskeetoes without, wee could hardly sleepe all the time of our being there; we much fearing that if we should stay any longer, we should not bee able to recover home for want of strength. So that on the Friday morning before Sun-rising, wee tooke our leave and departed, Massasoyt being both grieved and ashamed, that he could not better entertaine us; and retaining Tisquantum to send from place to place to procure trucke for us: and appointing another, called Tokamahamon in his place, whom we had found faithfull before and after upon all occasions.

Games.

Hungrie fare.

[IV. x. 1853.]

A Voyage made by ten of our men to the Kingdome of Nauset, to seek a Boy that had lost himselfe in the Woods; with such accidents as befell us in that Voyage.

THe eleventh of June we set forth toward Nauset, the weather being very faire: but ere we had bin long at Sea, there arose a storme of winde and raine, with much lightning and thunder, insomuch that a spout arose not farre from us: but God be praised, it dured not long, and we put in that night for Harbour at a place called Cummaquid, where we had some hope to finde the Boy. Two Savages were in the Boat with us, the one was Tisquantum our Interpreter, the other Tokamahamon, a

speciall friend. It being night before we came in, wee Anchored in the middest of the Bay, where we were dry at a low water. In the morning we espied Savages seeking Lobsters, and sent our two Interpreters to speake with them, the channell being betweene them; where they told them what we were, and for what we were come, willing them not at all to feare us, for we would not hurt them. Their answere was, that the Boy was well, but he was at Nauset; yet since wee were there they desired us to come ashoare and eate with them: which as soone as our Boate floated we did: and went sixe ashoare, having foure pledges for them in the Boate. They brought us to their Sachim or Governour, whom they call Iyanough, a man not exceeding twenty six yeares of age, but very personable, gentle courteous, and faire conditioned, indeede not like a Savage, save for his attyre: his entertainment was answerable to his parts, and his cheare plentifull and various.

One thing was very grievous unto us at this place: There was an old Woman, whom wee judged to be no lesse then an hundred yeares old, which came to see us because shee never saw English, yet could not behold us without breaking forth into great passion, weeping and crying excessively. We demanding the reason of it, they told us, she had three Sonnes, who when Master Hunt was in these parts, went aboord his Ship to trade with him, and he carried them Captives into Spaine (for Tisquantum at that time was carried away also) by which meanes shee was deprived of the comfort of her children in her old age. We told them wee were sorry that any Englishman should give them that offence, that Hunt was a bad man, and that all the English that heard of it condemned him for the same: but for us, we would not offer them any such injury, though it would gaine us all the Skins in the Countrie. So we gave her some small trifles, which somewhat appeased her.

After dinner we tooke Boate for Nauset, Iyanough and two of his men accompanying us. Ere we came to

Nauset, the day and tide were almost spent, in so much as we could not goe in with our Shallop: but the Sachim or Governour of Cummaquid went ashoare and his men with him, we also sent Tisquantum to tell Aspinet the Sachim of Nauset, wherefore we came. After Sunset Aspinet came with a great traine, and brought the Boy with him, one bearing him through the water: he had not lesse then an hundred with him, the halfe whereof came to the Shallop side unarmed with him, the other stood aloofe with their Bowe and Arrowes. There he delivered us the Boy, behung with Beades, and made peace with us, wee bestowing a Knife on him, and likewise on another that first entertained the Boy and brought him thither. So they departed from us.

The Boy is restored.

Here we understood that the Narrohigansets had spoyled some of Massasoyts men, and taken him. This strucke some feare in us, because the Colony was so weakely guarded, the strength thereof being abroad: But we set forth with resolution to make the best haste home we could; yet the winde being contrary, having scarce any fresh water left, and at least sixteene leagues home, we put in againe for the shoare. There we met againe with Iyanough the Sachim of Cummaquid, and the most of his Towne, both men, women and children with him. Hee being still willing to gratifie us, tooke a runlet and led our men in the darke a great way for water, but could finde none good; yet brought such as there was on his necke with them. In the meane time the women joyned hand in hand, singing and dancing before the Shallop, the men also shewing all the kindenesse they could, Iyanough himselfe taking a Bracelet from about his necke, and hanging it upon one of us. By Gods providence we came safely home that night.

Chap. V.

Good newes from New England: Or, A Relation of things remarkeable in that Plantation; written by E. Winslow and here abbreviated.

THe good Ship called the Fortune, which in the Moneth of November 1621. (blessed be God) brought us a new supply of five and thirty persons, was not long departed our Coast, ere the Great people of Narohigganset, which are reported to be many thousands strong, began to breath forth many threats against us, notwithstanding their desired and obtained peace with us in the fore-going Summer. Insomuch as the common talke of our neighbour Indians on all sides was of the preparation they made to come against us, In reason, a man would thinke they should have now more cause to feare us than before our supply came: but though none of them were present, yet understanding by others that they neither brought Armes nor other provisions with them, but wholly relied on us, it occasioned them to sleight and brave us with so many threats as they did. At length came one of them to us, who was sent by Conavacus their chiefe Sachim or King, accompanied with one Tokamahamon a friendly Indian. This Messenger inquired for Tisquantum our Interpreter, who not being at home seemed rather to be glad then sorry, and leaving for him a bundle of new Arrowes lapped in a rattle Snakes skinne, desired to depart with all expedition.

[IV. x. 1854.]

Snakes skin defiance.

When Tisquantum returned, and the Arrowes were delivered, and the manner of the Messengers cariage related, he signified to the Governour, that to send the rattle Snakes skinne in that manner, imported enmitie, and that it was no better then a challenge. Hereupon, after some deliberation, the Governour stuffed the skin with Powder and Shot, and sent it backe, returning no

lesse defiance to Conavacus, assuring him if he had Shipping now present thereby to send his men to Narohigganset (the place of his abode) they should not neede to come so farre by Land to us: yet withall, shewing that they should never come unwelcome or unlooked for. This message was sent by an Indian, and delivered in such sort, as it was no small terrour to this Savage King, insomuch as he would not once touch the Powder and Shot, or suffer it to stay in his House or Countrie. Whereupon the Messenger refusing it, another tooke it up, and having beene posted from place to place a long time, at length came whole backe againe.

In the meane time, knowing our owne weakenesse, notwithstanding our high words and loftie lookes towards them, and still lying open to all casualty, having as yet (under God) no other defence then our Armes, we thought it most needfull to impale our Towne, which with all expedition we accomplished in the moneth of February, and some few dayes, taking in the top of the Hill under which our Towne is seated, making foure Bulwarkes or jetties without the ordinary circuit of the Pale, from whence we could defend the whole Towne: In three whereof are Gates, and the fourth in time to be. This being done, Captaine Standish divided our strength into foure squadrons or companies, appointing whom he thought most fit to have command of each: And at a generall Muster or Training, appointed each his place, gave each his Company, giving them charge upon every alarum to resort to their Leaders to their appointed place, and in his absence, to be commanded and directed by them. That done according to his order, each drew his Company to his appointed place for defence, and there together discharged their Muskets. After which they brought their new Commanders to their houses, where againe they graced them with their shot, and so departed. Fearing also least the enemy at any time should take any advantage by firing our houses, Captaine Standish appointed a certaine Company, that whensoever they saw

Towne impaled.

or heard fire to be cryed in the Towne, should onely betake themselves to their Armes, and should inclose the house or place so indangered, and stand aloofe on their guard, with their backes towards the fire, to prevent trechery, if any were in that kinde intended. If the fire were in any of the houses of this guard, they were then freed from it, but not otherwise, without speciall command.

Long before this time we promised the people of Massachuset in the beginning of March to come unto them, and trade for their Furres, which being then come, we began to make preparation for that Voyage. In the meane time, an Indian, called Hobbamocke, who still lived in the Towne, told us, that he feared the Massachusets or Massachuseuks (for they so called the people of that place) were joyned in confederacie with the Narohigganneucks, or people of Narohigganset, and that they therefore would take this opportunity to cut off Captaine Standish and his Company abroad: but howsoever in the meane time, it was to be feared that the Narohigganeuks would assault the Towne at home, giving many reasons for his jealousie, as also that Tisquantum was in the confederacy, who we should finde would use many perswasions to draw us from our Shallops to the Indians houses for their better advantage.

Notwithstanding the forenamed Captaine with ten men, accompanied with Tisquantum and Hobbamocke, set forwards for the Massachusets: but we had no sooner turned the point of the Harbour, called the Gurnets nose (where being becalmed we let fall our grapnell, to set things to rights, and prepare to row) but there came an Indian of Tisquantums family, running to certaine of our people that were from home with all eagernesse, having his face wounded, and the bloud still fresh on the same, calling to them to repaire home, oft looking behinde him, as if some others had him in chase, saying that at Namaschet (a Towne some fifteene miles from us) there were many of the Narohigganset, Massassowat our supposed friend; and Conbatant our feared enemy, with

many others, with a resolution to take advantage on the present opportunity, to assault the Towne in the Captaines absence, affirming that hee received the wound in his face for speaking in our behalfe, and by sleight escaped, looking oft backward, as if he suspected them to be at hand. This he affirmed againe to the Governour, whereupon he gave command that three peece of Ordnance should be made ready and discharged, to the end that if wee were not out of hearing, we might returne thereat. Which we no sooner heard, but we repaired homeward with all convenient speede, arming our selves, and making all in readinesse to fight. When wee entred the Harbour, we saw the Towne likewise on their guard, whither we hasted with all convenient speede. The newes being made knowne unto us, Hobbamock said flatly that it was false, assuring us of Massassowats faithfulnesse; howsoever he presumed he would never have undertaken any such act without his privitie, himselfe being a Pinse, that is, one of his chiefe Champions or men of valour, it being the manner amongst them not to undertake such enterprises without the advice and furtherance of men of that ranke. [IV. x. 1855.]

The Governour caused Hobbamock to send his wife with all privacie to Puckanokick, the chiefe place of Massassowats residence (pretending other occasions) there to informe her selfe, and so us, of the right state of things. When she came thither, and saw all things quiet, and that no such matter was or had beene intended, she told Massassowat what had hapned at Plimoth (by them called Patuxet) which when he understood, he was much offended at the carriage of Tisquantum, returning many thankes to the Governour for his good thoughts of him; and assuring him, that according to their first Articles of peace, hee would send word and give warning when any such businesse was towards.

Tisquantums trechery.

Thus by degrees we began to discover Tisquantum, whose ends were onely to make himselfe great in the eyes of his Country-men, by meanes of his neerenesse and

favour with us, not caring who fell, so he stood. In generall, his course was to perswade them hee could lead us to peace or warre at his pleasure, and would oft threaten the Indians, sending them word in a private manner, we were intended shortly to kill them, that thereby he might get gifts to himselfe to worke their peace, insomuch as they had him in greater esteeme then many of their Sachims; yea, they themselves sought to him, who promised them peace in respect of us; yea, and protection also, so as they would resort to him. So that whereas divers were wont to relye on Massassowat for protection, and resort to his abode, now they began to leave him, and seeke after Tisquantum. But when we understood his dealings, we certified all the Indians of our ignorance and innocency therein, assuring them till they begun with us, they should have no cause to feare. And if any hereafter should raise any such reports, they should punish them as liers and seekers of their and our disturbance, which gave the Indians good satisfaction on all sides.

After this we proceeded in our Voyage to the Massachusets, where we had good store of Trade and (blessed be God) returned in safety, though driven from before our Towne in great danger and extremity of weather. At our returne, we found Massassowat at the Plantation, who made his seeming just Apologie for all former matters of accusation, being much offended and inraged against Tisquantum, whom the Governour pacified as much as he could for the present. But not long after his departure, he sent a Messenger to the Governour, intreating him to give way to the death of Tisquantum, who had so much abused him. But the Governour answered; Although he had deserved to dye both in respect of him and us; yet for our sakes he desired he would spare him, and the rather because without him he knew not well how to understand himselfe, or any other the Indians. With this answer the Messenger returned, but came againe not long after, accompanied with divers others, demanding him from Massassowat their Master,

as being one of his subjects, whom by our first Articles of peace we could not retaine: yet because hee would not willingly doe it without the Governors approbation, offered him many Bevers skins for his consent thereto, saying, that according to their manner, their Sachim had sent his owne Knife, and therewith, to cut off his head and hands, and bring them to him. To which the Governour answered; It was not the manner of the English to sell mens lives at a price, but when they had deserved justly to die, to give them their reward, and therefore refused their Beavers as a gift: but sent for Tisquantum, who though he knew their intent, yet offered not to flye, but came and accused Hobbamocke as the author and worker of his overthrow; yeelding himselfe to the Governour to be sent or not according as he thought meete. But at the instant, when our Governour was ready to deliver him into the hands of his Executioners, a Boate was seene at Sea to crosse before our Towne, and fall behinde a head-land not farre off: whereupon, having heard many rumours of the French, and not knowing whether there were any combination betweene the Savages and them, the Governour told the Indians, he would first know what Boate that was ere he would deliver him into their custody. But being mad with rage, and impatient at delay, they departed in great heate.

Here let me not omit one notable (though wicked) practise of this Tisquantum, who to the end he might possesse his Countrimen with the greater feare of us, and so consequently of himselfe, told them we had the plague buried in our store-house, which at our pleasure we could send forth to what place or people we would, and destroy them therewith, though wee stirred not from home. Being upon the forenamed brabbles sent for by the Governour to this place, where Hobbamock was & some other of us, the ground being broke in the middest of the house (whereunder certaine barrels of Powder were buried, though unknowne to him) Hobbamock asked him what it meant? To whom he readily answered; That was the

Plagy conceit. place wherein the plague was buried, whereof he formerly told him and others. After this Hobbamock asked one of our people whether such a thing were, and whether we had such command of it? Who answered no; But the God of the English had it in store, and could send it at his pleasure to the destruction of his and our enemies.

This was, as I take it, about the end of May, 1622. At which time our store of victuals was wholly spent, having lived long before with a bare and short allowance: The reason was, that supply of men before mentioned, which came so unprovided, not landing so much as a barrell of Bread or Meale for their whole Company, but contrariwise received from us for their Ships store homeward. Neither were the setters forth thereof altogether to be blamed therein, but rather certaine amongst our selves, who were too prodigall in their writing and reporting that plenty we enjoyed. But that I may returne.

This Boate proved to be a Shallop that belonged to a fishing Ship, called the Sparrow, set forth by Master Thomas Weston, late Merchant and Citizen of London, which brought six or seven passengers at his charge, that should before have beene landed at our Plantation, who also brought no more provision for the present then served the Boats gang for their returne to the Ship, which made her Voyage at a place called Damarins Cove, neere Munhiggen, some forty leagues from us North-east-ward; about which place there fished above thirty saile of Ships, and whither my selfe was imployed by our Governour, with orders to take up such victuals as the Shippes could spare; where I found kinde entertainment and good respect, with a willingnesse to supply our wants: But being not able to spare that quantity I required, by reason of the necessitie of some amongst themselves, whom they supplied before my comming, would not take any Bils for the same, but did what they could freely, wishing their store had beene such as they might in greater measure have expressed their owne love, and supplied our necessities, for which they sorrowed, provoking one another to

the utmost of their abilitie: which although it were not much amongst so many people as were at the Plantation, yet through the provident and discreete care of the Governours, recovered and preserved strength till our owne crop on the ground was ready.

Having dispatched there, I returned home with all speede convenient, where I found the state of the Colony much weaker then when I left it: for til now we were never without some Bread, the want whereof much abated the strength and flesh of some, and swelled others. But here it may be said, if the Countrey abound with Fish and Fowle in such measure as is reported, how could men undergoe such measure of hardnesse, except through their owne negligence? I answere: Every thing must be expected in its proper season. No man, as one said, will goe into an Orchard in the Winter to gather Cherries: so he that lookes for Fowle there in the Summer, will be deceived in his expectation. The time they continue in plenty with us, is from the beginning of October to the end of March: but these extremities befell us in May and June. I confesse, that as the Fowle decrease, so Fish increase. And indeede their exceeding abundance was a great cause of increasing our wants. For though our Bay and Creekes were full of Basse, and other fish, yet for want of fit and strong Saynes, and other netting, they for the most part brake thorow and carried all away before them. And though the Sea were full of Cod, yet we had neither tackling nor harseis for our Shallops. And indeede had we not beene in a place where divers sorts of Shel-fish are that may be taken with the hand, we must have perished, unlesse God had raised some unknowne or extraordinary meanes for our preservation.

In the time of these streits (indeede before my going to Munhiggen) the Indians began againe to cast forth many insulting speeches, glorying in our weakenesse, and giving out how easie it would be ere long to cut us off. Now also Massassowat seemed to frowne on us, and neither came or sent to us as formerly. These things

occasioned further thoughts of Fortification. And whereas we have a Hill called the Mount, inclosed within our Pale, under which our Towne is seated, we resolved to erect a Fort thereon, from whence a few might easily secure the Town from any assault the Indians can make, whilest the rest might be imployed as occasion served. This worke was begun with great eagernesse, and with the approbation of all men, hoping that this being once finished, and a continuall guard there kept, it would utterly discourage the Savages from having any hopes or thoughts of rising against us. And though it tooke the greatest part of our strength from dressing our Corne, yet (life being continued) wee hoped God would raise some meanes in stead thereof for our further preservation.

Master Westons planters: which plaid the wasps with English and Savages.

In the end of June, or beginning of July, came into our harbour two Ships of Master Westons aforesaid, the one called the Charitie, the other the Swan, having in them some fiftie or sixtie men sent over at his owne charge to plant for him. These we received into our Towne, affording them whatsoever curtesie our meane condition could afford. There the Charitie, being the bigger Ship, left them, having many passengers which she was to land in Virginia. In the meane time, the body of them refreshed themselves at Plimoth, whilest some most fit sought out a place for them. That little store of Corne we had, was exceedingly wasted by the unjust and dishonest walking of these strangers, who though they would sometimes seeme to helpe us in our labour about our Corne, yet spared not day and night to steale the same, it being then eatable, and pleasant to taste, though green and unprofitable. And though they received much kindnesse, set light both by it and us. At length their Coasters returned, having found in their judgement a place fit for plantation, within the Bay of the Massachusets, at a place called by the Indians Wichaguscusset. To which place the body of them went with all convenient speede, leaving still with us such as were sicke and lame, by the

[IV. x. 1857.]

Governours permission, though on their parts undeserved, whom our Surgeon by the helpe of God recovered gratis for them, and they fetched home, as occasion served. They had not beene long from us, ere the Indians filled our eares with clamours against them, for stealing their Corne, and other abuses conceived by them. At which we grieved the more, because the same men, in mine owne hearing, had beene earnest in perswading Captaine Standish, before their comming to solicite our Governour to send some of his men to plant by them, alledging many reasons how it might be commodious for us. But wee knew no meanes to redresse those abuses, save reproofe, and advising them to better walking, as occasion served.

Two Ships.

In the end of August came other two Ships into our harbour, the one (as I take it) was called the Discoverie, Captaine Jones having the command thereof, the other was that Ship of Master Westons, called the Sparrow, which had now made her Voyage of Fish, and was consorted with the other, being both bound for Virginia. Of Captaine Jones we furnished our selves of such provisions as we most needed, and he could best spare, who as he used us kindely, so made us pay largely for the things we had. And had not the Almighty, in his All-ordering Providence, directed him to us, it would have gone worse with us, then ever it had beene, or after was: for, as we had now but small store of Corne for the yeere following: so for want of supply, we were worne out of all manner of trucking-stuffe, not having any meanes left to helpe our selves by trade; but through Gods good mercy towards us, hee had wherewith, and did supply our wants on that kinde competently.

Helpe from Master Jones.

In the end of September, or beginning of October, Master Westons biggest Ship called the Charitie, returned for England, and left their Colony sufficiently victualled, as some of most credit amongst them reported. The lesser, called the Swan, remained with his Colony for their further helpe. At which time they desired to joyne in partnership with us to trade for Corne; to which our

Governour and his Assistant agreed upon such equall conditions, as were drawne and confirmed betweene them and us. The chiefe places aimed at were to the Southward of Cape Cod, and the more because Tisquantum, whose peace before this time was wrought with Masassowat, undertooke to discover unto us that supposed, and still hoped passage within the Sholes.

Both Colonies being thus agreed, our Governour in his owne person supplied the Captaines place, and in the month of November set forth, having Tisquantum for his Interpreter and Pilot, who affirmed he had twice passed within the Sholes of Cape Cod, both with English and French. Neverthelesse, they went so farre with him, as the Master of the Ship saw no hope of passage: but being (as he thought) in danger, bare up, and according to Tisquantums directions, made for an harbour not farre from them, at a place called Manamoycke, which they found, and sounding it with their Shallop found the channell, though but narrow and crooked, where at length they harboured the Ship. Here they perceived that the Tide set in and out with more violence at some other place more Southerly, which they had not seene nor could discover, by reason of the violence of the season all the time of their abode there. Some judged the entrance thereof might be beyond the Sholes, but there is no certainty thereof as yet knowne. That night the Governour accompanied with others, having Tisquantum for his Interpreter went ashoare: At first the Inhabitants plaied least in sight, because none of our people had ever beene there before; but understanding the ends of their comming, at length came to them, welcomming our Governour according to their Savage manner, refreshing them very well with store of Venison and other victuals which they brought them in great abundance, promising to trade with them, with a seeming gladnesse of the occasion: yet their joy was mixed with much jealousie, as appeared by their after practices: for at first they were loath their dwellings should be knowne, but when they

saw our Governours resolution to stay on the shoare all night, they brought him to their houses, having first convaied all their stuffe to a remote place, not farre from the same, which one of our men walking forth occasionally, espied; whereupon, on the sudden, neither it nor they could be found, and so many times after upon conceived occasions, they would be all gone, bag and baggage. But being afterwards (by Tisquantums meanes) better perswaded, they left their jealousie and traded with them; where they got eight hogsheads of Corne and Beanes, though the people were but few. This gave our Governour and the Company good encouragement. Tisquantum being still confident in the passage, and the Inhabitants affirming, they had seene Ships of good burthen passe within the Sholes aforesaid. But here, though they had determined to make a second assay, yet God had otherwaies disposed, who strucke Tisquantum with sicknesse, in so much as he there died, which crossed their Southward trading, and the more, because the Masters sufficiency was much doubted, and the season very tempestuous, and not fit to goe upon discovery, having no guide to direct them.

From thence they departed, and the winde being faire for the Massachusets, went thither, and the rather because the Savages upon our motion had planted much Corne for us, which they promised not long before that time. [IV. x. 1858.] When they came thither, they found a great sicknesse to be amongst the Indians, not unlike the Plague, if not *A Plague.* the same. They renued their complaints to our Governour, against that other Plantation seated by them, for their injurious walking. But indeede the trade both for *Note.* Furres and Corne was overthrowne in that place, they giving as much for a quart of Corne, as we used to doe for a Beavers skin; so that little good could be there done. From thence they returned into the bottome of the Bay of Cape Cod, to a place called Nauset, where the Sachim used the Governour very kindely, and where they bought eight or ten hogsheads of Corne and Beanes.

Also at a place called Mattachiest, where they had like kinde entertainment and Corne also. During the time of their trade in these places, there were so great and violent stormes, as the Ship was much endangered, and our Shallop cast away, so that they had now no meanes to carry the Corne aboard that they had bought, the Ship riding by their report well neere two leagues from the same, her owne Boate being small, and so leake (having no Carpenter with them) as they durst scarce fetch wood or water in her. Hereupon the Governour caused the Corne to be made in a round stacke, and bought Mats, and cut Sedge to cover it, and gave charge to the Indians not to meddle with it, promising him that dwelt next to it a reward, if he would keepe vermine also from it, which he undertooke, and the Sachim promised to make good.

Honest Savages.

In the meane time, according to the Governors request, the Sachim sent men to seek the Shallop, which they found buried almost in sand at a high-water marke, having many things remaining in her, but unserviceable for the present; whereof the Governour gave the Sachim speciall charge that it should not be further broken. And having procured a Guide, it being no lesse then fiftie miles to our Plantation, set forward, receiving all respect that could be from the Indians in his journey, and came safely home, though weary and surbated, whether some three dayes after the Ship also came. The Corne being divided which they had got, Master Westons Company went to their owne Plantation, it being further agreed, that they should returne with all convenient speede, and bring their Carpenter, that they might fetch the rest of the Corne, and save their Shallop.

At their returne Captaine Standish being recovered and in health, tooke another Shallop, and went with them to the Corne, which they found in safety as they left it: also they mended the other Shallop, and got all their Corne aboard the Ship. This was in January, as I take it, it being very cold and stormy, insomuch as (the harbour being none of the best) they were constrained to cut both

the Shallops from the Ships sterne, and so lost them both a second time. But the storme being over, and seeking out, they found them both, not having received any great hurt. Whilest they were at Nauset, having occasion to lye on the shoare, laying their Shallop in a Creeke not farre from them, an Indian came into the same, and stole certaine Beads, Cissers, and others trifles out of the same, which when the Captaine missed, he tooke certaine of his company with him, and went to the Sachim, telling him what had hapned, and requiring the same againe, or the party that stole them (who was knowne to certaine of the Indians) or else he would revenge it on them before his departure, and so tooke leave for that night being late, refusing whatsoever kindnesse they offered. On the morrow, the Sachim came to their randevow, accompanied with many men, in a stately manner, who saluting the Captaine in this wise; He thrust out his tongue, that one might see the roote thereof, and there with licked his hand from the wrist to the fingers end, withall bowing the knee, striving to imitate the English gesture, being instructed therein formerly by Tisquantum: his men did the like, but in so rude and Savage a manner, as our men could scarce forbeare to breake out in open laughter. After salutation, he delivered the Beads, and other things to the Captaine, saying, he had much beaten the party for doing it, causing the women to make Bread, and bring them, according to their desire, seeming to be very sorry for the fact, but glad to be reconciled. So they departed, and came home in safety; where the Corne was equally divided, as before.

After this, the Governour went to two other inland Townes, with another Company, and bought Corne likewise of them, the one is called Namasket, the other Manomet. That from Namasket was brought home partly by Indian women; but a great sicknesse arising amongst them, our owne men were inforced to fetch home the rest. That at Manomet the Governour left in the Sachims custody: this Towne lieth from us South well

Namasket.
Manomet.

neere twenty miles, and stands upon a fresh River, which runneth into the Bay of Narohigganset, and cannot be lesse then sixty miles from thence. It will beare a Boat of eight or ten tun to this place. Hither the Dutch, or French, or both use to come. It is from hence to the Bay of Cape Cod about eight miles; out of which Bay it floweth into a Creeke some six miles almost direct towards the Towne. The heads of the River, and this Creeke, are not farre distant. This River yeeldeth thus high, Oysters, Muscles, Clams, and other Shel-fish, one in shape like a Beane, another like a Clam, both good meate, and great abundance at all times; besides it aboundeth with divers sorts of fresh fish in their seasons. The Governour or Sachim of this place, was called Canacum, who had formerly, as well as many others (yea all with whom as yet we had to doe) acknowledged themselves the Subjects of our Soveraigne Lord the King. This Sachim used the Governour very kindely, and it seemed was of good respect and authority amongst the Indians. For whilest the Governour was there within night in bitter weather, [IV. x. 1859.] came two men from Manamoick, before spoken of, and having set aside their Bowes and Quivers, according to their manner, sat down by the fire, and tooke a pipe of Tobacco, not using any words in that time, nor any other to them, but all remained silent, expecting when they would speake: At length they looked toward Canacum, and one of them made a short speech, and delivered a present to him from his Sachim, which was a basket of Tobacco, and many Beades, which the other received thankfully. After which, he made a long speech to him, the contents hereof was related to us by Hobbamock (who then accompanied the Governour for his Guide) to be as followeth; It hapned that two of their men fell out as they were in game (for they use gaming as much as any where, and will play away all, even their skin from their backs, yea and for their wives skins also, though it may be they are many miles distant from them, as my selfe have seene) and growing to great heat, the one killed the

Savages great gamsters.

other. The actor of this fact was a Powah, one of speciall note amongst them, and such an one as they could not well misse, yet another people greater then themselves threatned them with warre, if they would not put him to death. The partie offending was in hold, neither would their Sachim doe one way or other till their returne, resting upon him for advice and furtherance in so weightie a matter. After this there was silence a short time; at length men gave their judgement what they thought best. Amongst others, he asked Hobbamock what he thought? Who answered, he was but a stranger to them, but thought it was better that one should die then many, since he had deserved it, and the rest were innocent; whereupon he passed the sentence of death upon him.

Not long after (having no great quantitie of Corne left) Captaine Standish went againe with a Shallop to Mattachiest, meeting also with the like extremitie of weather, both of winde, Snow, and Frost, insomuch as they were frozen in the harbour the first night they entred the same. Here they pretended their wonted love, and spared them a good quantitie of Corne to confirme the same: Strangers also came to this place, pretending onely to see him and his Companie, whom they never saw before that time, but intending to joyne with the rest to kill them, as after appeared. But being forced through extremitie to lodge in their houses, which they much pressed, God possessed the heart of the Captaine with just jealousie, giving strait command, that as one part of his Companie slept, the rest should wake, declaring some things to them which he understood, whereof he could make no good construction. Some of the Indians spying a fit opportunitie, stole some Beades also from him, which he no sooner perceived, having not above six men with him, drew them all from the Boat, and set them on their guard about the Sachims house, where the most of the people were, threatning to fall upon them without further delay, if they would not forthwith restore them, signifying to the Sachim especially, and so to them all, that as he would not offer the least

Just jealousie.

injurie, so he would not receive any at their hands, which should escape without punishment or due satisfaction. Hereupon the Sachim bestirred him to finde out the partie, which when he had done, caused him to returne them againe to the Shallop, and came to the Captaine, desiring him to search whether they were not about the Boat, who suspecting their knaverie, sent one, who found them lying openly upon the Boats cuddy; yet to appease his anger, they brought Corne afresh to trade, insomuch as he laded his Shallop, and so departed. This accident so daunted their courage, as they durst not attempt any thing against him. So that through the good mercy and providence of God they returned in safetie. At this place the Indians get abundance of Basse both Summer and Winter, for it being now February they abounded with them.

Basse Summer and Winter.

In the beginning of March, having refreshed himselfe, he tooke a Shallop, and went to Manomet, to fetch home that which the Governour had formerly bought, hoping also to get more from them, but was deceived in his expectation, not finding that entertainment he found elsewhere, and the Governour had there received. The reason whereof, and of the trecherie intended in the place before spoken of, was not then knowne unto us, but afterwards: wherein may be observed the abundant mercies of God working with his providence for our good. Captaine Standish being now farre from the Boat, and not above two or three of our men with him, and as many with the Shallop, was not long at Canacum the Sachims house, but in came two of the Massachuset men, the chiefe of them was called Wituwamat, a notable insulting villaine, one who had formerly imbrued his hands in the bloud of English and French, and had oft boasted of his owne valour, and derided their weaknesse, especially because (as he said) they died crying, making sowre faces, more like children then men. This villaine tooke a dagger from about his necke (which hee had gotten of Master Westons people) and presented it to the Sachim, and after

made a long speech in an audacious manner, framing it in such sort, as the Captaine (though he be the best Linguist amongst us) could not gather any thing from it. The end of it was afterward discovered to be as followeth: The Massacheuseuckes formerly concluded to ruinate Master Westons Colonie, and thought themselves, being about thirty or forty men strong, enough to execute the same: yet they durst not attempt it, till such time as they had gathered more strength to themselves to make their partie good against us at Plimoth, concluding, that if wee remained (though they had no other Arguments to use against us) yet wee would never leave the death of our [IV. x. Countrimen unrevenged, and therefore their safetie could 1860.] not be without the overthrow of both Plantations. To this end they had formerly solicited this Sachim, as also the other called Ianough at Mattachiest, and many others to assist them, and now againe came to prosecute the same; and since there was so faire an opportunitie offered by the Captaines presence, they thought best to make sure him and his Company. After this message was delivered, his entertainment much exceeded the Captaines, insomuch as hee scorned at their behaviour, and told them of it: after which, they would have perswaded him, because the weather was cold, to have sent to the Boate for the rest of his Company, but he would not, desiring according to promise, that the Corne might be carried downe, and he would content the women for their labour, which they did. At the same time there was a lusty Indian of Paomet or Cape Cod then present, who had ever demeaned himselfe well towards us, being in his generall carriage very affable, courteous, and loving, especially towards the Captaine. This Savage was now entred into confederacie with the rest, yet to avoide suspition, made many signes of his continued affections, and would needes bestow a Kettle of some six or seven gallons on him, and would not accept of any thing in lieu thereof, saying, he was rich, and could afford to bestow such favours on his friends whom he loved: also hee would freely helpe to carry some

of the Corne, affirming he had never done the like in his life before, and the winde being bad would needes lodge with him at their Randevow, having indeede undertaken to kill him before they parted, which done they intended to fall upon the rest. The night proved exceeding cold, insomuch as the Captaine could not take any rest, but either walked or turned himselfe to and fro at the fire: This the other observed, and asked wherefore he did not sleepe as at other times, who answered he knew not well, but had no desire at all to rest. So that he then mist his opportunity. The winde serving on the next day, they returned home, accompanied with the other Indian, who used many arguments to perswade them to go to Paomet, where himself had much Corne, and many other, the most whereof he would procure for us, seeming to sorrow for our wants. Once the Captaine put forth with him, and was forced backe by contrary winde; which winde served for the Massachuset, was fitted to goe thither. But on a sudden it altered againe.

Dutch Ship.

During the time that the Captaine was at Manomet, newes came to Plimoth that Massassowat was like to die, and that at the same time there was a Dutch Ship driven so high on the shoare by stresse of weather, right before his dwelling, that till the tides encreased, she could not be got off. Now it being a commendable manner of the Indians, when any (especially of note) are dangerously sicke, for all that professe friendship to them, to visit them in their extremity, either in their persons, or else to send some acceptable persons to them, therefore it was thought meete (being a good and warrantable action) that as we had ever professed friendship, so we should now maintaine the same, by observing this their laudable custome: and the rather, because we desired to have some conference with the Dutch, not knowing when we should have so fit an opportunity. To that end my selfe having formerly beene there, and understanding in some measure the Dutch tongue, the Governour againe laid this service upon my selfe, and

Visitations of the sicke.

fitted me with some cordials to administer to him, having one Master John Hamden a Gentleman of London (who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the Country) for my Consort, and Hobbamocke for our guide. So we set forward, and lodged the first night at Namasket, where we had friendly entertainment.

The next day about one of the clock, we came to a ferrie in Conbatants Country, where upon discharge of my Peece, divers Indians came to us from a house not far off. There they told us, that Massassowat was dead, and that day buried, and that the Dutch would be gone before we could get thither, having hove off their Ship already. This newes strucke us blanke; but especially Hobbamocke, who desired we might returne with all speede. I told him I would first thinke of it, considering now that he being dead, Combatant was the most like to succeede him, and that we were not above three miles from Mattapuyst his dwelling place, although he were but a hollow-hearted friend towards us, I thought no time so fit as this, to enter into more friendly tearmes with him, and the rest of the Sachims thereabout, hoping (through the blessing of God) it would be a meanes in that unsetled state, to settle their affections towards us, and though it were somewhat dangerous, in respect of our personall safety, because my selfe and Hobbamocke had beene imployed upon a service against him, which he might now fitly revenge; yet esteeming it the best means, leaving the event to God in his mercy, I resolved to put it in practise, if Master Hamden and Hobbamock durst attempt it with me, whom I found willing to that or any other course might tend to the generall good. So we went towards Mattapuyst. In the way, Hobbamocke manifesting a troubled spirit, brake forth into these speeches, Neen womasu Sagimus, neen womasu Sagimus, &c. My loving Sachim, my loving Sachim. Many have I knowne, but never any like thee: And turning him to me said; Whilest I lived, I should never see his like amongst the Indians, saying, he was no lyer,

Reports of Massassowats death.

His commendation.

he was not bloudy and cruell like other Indians; In anger and passion he was soone reclaimed, easie to be reconciled towards such as had offended him, ruled by reason in such measure, as he would not scorne the advice of meane men, and that he governed his men better with few stroakes then others did with many; truely loving where he loved; yea, he feared we had not a faithfull friend left among the Indians, shewing how he oft-times restrained their malice, &c. continuing a long speech with such signes of lamentation and unfeined sorrow, as it would have made the hardest heart relent.

[IV. x. 1861.]

At length we came to Mattapuyst, and went to the Sachimo Comaco (for so they called the Sachims place, though they call an ordinary house Witeo) but Combatant the Sachim was not at home, but at Puckanokick, which was some five or six miles off; the Squa-sachim (for so they call Sachims wife) gave us friendly entertainment. Here we enquired againe concerning Massassowat, they thought him dead, but knew no certainty; wherupon I hired one to goe with all expedition to Puckanokick, that we might know the certainty thereof, and withall to acquaint Combatant with our there being. About halfe an houre before Sun-setting, the messenger returned, and told us that he was not yet dead, though there was no hope we should finde him living. Upon this we were much revived, and set forward with all speede, though it was late within night ere we got thither. About two of the clock that afternoone the Dutchmen departed, so that in that respect our journie was frustrate. When we came thither, we found the house so full of men, as we could scarce get in, though they used their best diligence to make way for us. There were they in the middest of their charmes for him, making such a hellish noise, as it distempered us that were well, and therefore unlike to ease him that was sicke. About him were six or eight women, who chafed his armes, legs, and thighes, to keep heat in him: when they had made an end of their charming, one told him that his friends the English were

Miserable comforters.

come to see him (having understanding left, but his sight was wholly gone) he asked who was come, they told him Winsnow (for they cannot pronounce the letter l, but ordinarily n in the place thereof) he desired to speake with me: when I came to him, & they told him of it, he put forth his hand to me, which I took; then he said twice, though very inwardly, keen Winsnow, which is to say, art thou Winslow? I answered, ahhe, that is, yes; then he doubled these words, Matta neen wonckanet namen Winsnow; that is to say, O Winslow I shall never see thee again. Then I called Hobbamock, and desired him to tell Massassowat, that the Governor hearing of his sicknes, was sorry for the same, & though by reason of many businesses he could not come himselfe, yet he sent me with such things for him as he thought most likely, to doe him good in this extremity, and whereof if he pleased to take, I would presently give him; which he desired, and having a confection of many comfortable Conserves, on the point of my Knife I gave him some, which I could scarce get thorow his teeth; when it was dissolved in his mouth, he swallowed the juice of it, whereat those that were about him much rejoyced, saying, he had not swallowed any thing in two daies before. Then I desired to see his mouth, which was exceedingly furred, and his tongue swelled in such manner, as it was not possible for him to eat such meat as they had, his passage being stopt up. Then I washed his mouth, and scraped his tongue, & got abundance of corruption out of the same. After which, I gave him more of the confection, which he swallowed with more readines; then he desired to drinke, I dissolved some of it in water, and gave him thereof: within halfe an houre this wrought a great alteration in him in the eies of all that beheld him; presently after his sight began to come to him. In the meane time I inquired how he slept, and when he went to stoole? They said he slept not in two daies before, & had not had a stoole in five; then I gave him more, and told him of a mishap we had by the way in

breaking a bottle of drink, which the Governour also sent him, saying, if he would send any of his men to Patuxet, I would send for more of the same, also for Chickens to make him broth, & for other things which I knew were good for him, and would stay the returne of the Messenger, if he desired. This he tooke marvellous kindly, and appointed some, who were ready to go by two of the clock in the morning, against which time I made ready a Letter, declaring therein our good successe, the state of his body &c. desiring to send such things as I sent for, and such physicke as the Surgion durst administer to him. He requested me that the day following, I would take my Peece, and kill him some Fowle, and make him some English pottage, such as he had eaten at Plimoth, which I promised: after his stomacke comming to him, I must needes make him some without Fowle, before I went abroad, which somewhat troubled me; but being I must doe somewhat, I caused a woman to bruise some Corne, and take the flower from it, and set over the grut or broken Corne in a Pipkin (for they have earthen Pots of all sizes.) When the day broke, we went out (it being now March) to seeke hearbes, but could not finde any but Strawberrie leaves, of which I gathered a handful & put into the same, and because I had nothing to relish it, I went forth againe, and pulled up a Saxafras root, and sliced a peece thereof, and boiled it till it had a good relish, and then tooke it out againe. The broth being boiled, I strained it thorow my handkerchiffe, and gave him at least a pinte, which he dranke, and liked it very well. After this, his sight mended more and more, also he had three moderate stooles, and tooke some rest: Insomuch, as we with admiration blessed God for giving his blessing to such raw and ignorant meanes, making no doubt of his recovery, himselfe and all of them acknowledging us the instruments of his preservation. That morning he caused me to spend in going from one to another amongst those that were sicke in the Town, requesting me to wash their

mouthes also, and give to each of them some of the same I gave him, saying, they were good folke. This paines I tooke with willingnesse, though it were much offensive to me, not being accustomed with such poisonous savours.

The Messengers were now returned, but finding his stomacke come to him, he would not have the Chickens killed, but kept them for breede. Neither durst we give him any physicke which was then sent, because his body was so much altered since our instructions, neither saw we any neede, not doubting now of his recovery, if he were carefull. Many whilest we were there came to see him, some by their report from a place not lesse then an hundred miles. Upon this his recovery, he brake forth into these speeches; Now I see the English are my friends and love me, and whilest I live I will never forget this kindenesse they have shewed me. Whilest wee were there, our entertainment exceeded all other strangers. At our comming away, he called Hobbamocke to him, and privately (none hearing save two or three other of his Pueeses, who are of his Counsell) revealed the plot of the Massacheuseucks before spoken of, against Master Westons Colony, and so against us, saying that the people of Nauset, Paomet, Succovet Mattachiest, Manomet Agowaywam, and the Ile of Capawack, were joyned with them; himselfe also in his sickenesse was earnestly sollicited, but he would neither joyne therein, nor give way to any of his. Therefore as we respected the lives of our Countrimen, and our owne after-safety, he advised us to kill the men of Massachuset, who were the authors of this intended mischiefe. And whereas we were wont to say, we would not strike a stroke till they first began; if said he upon this intelligence, they make that answer, tell them, when their Countrimen at Wichaguscusset are killed, they being not able to defend themselves, that then it will be too late to recover their lives, nay through the multitude of adversaries they shall with great difficultie preserve their own, & therefore he counselled without delay to take away the principals, and then the plot would

[IV. x. 1862.]

He revealeth the trechery of the Massachusets.

cease. With this hee charged him thorowly to acquaint me by the way, that I might informe the Governour thereof at my first comming home. Being fitted for our returne, we tooke our leave of him, who returned many thankes to our Governour, and also to our selves for our labour and love: the like did all that were about him. So we departed.

That night, thorow the earnest request of Combatant, who till now remained at Sawaams or Puckanukick, we lodged with him at Mattapuyst. By the way I had much conference with him, so likewise at his house, he being a notable politician, yet full of merry jests and squibs, and never better pleased then when the like are returned againe upon him. Amongst other things he asked me, If in case he were thus dangerously sicke, as Massassowat had beene, and should send word thereof to Patuxet for Maskiet, that is, Physicke, whether then Master Governour would send it? and if he would, whether I would come therewith to him? To both which I answered yea; whereat he gave me many joyfull thankes. After that, being at his house, he demanded further, how we durst being but two come so farre into the Country? I answered, where was true love there was no feare, and my heart was so upright towards them, that for mine owne part I was fearelesse to come amongst them. But, said he, if your love be such, and it bring forth such fruits, how commeth it to passe, that when we come to Patuxet, you stand upon your guard, with the mouthes of your Peeces presented towards us? Whereupon I answered, it was the most honorable and respective entertainment we could give them; it being an order amongst us so to receive our best respected friends: and as it was used on the Land, so the Ships observed it also at Sea, which Hobbamock knew, and had seene observed. But shaking the head, he answered, that he liked not such salutations.

Further, observing us to crave a blessing on our meate before we did eate, and after to give thankes for the same, he asked us what was the meaning of that ordinary

custome? Hereupon I tooke occasion to tell them of Gods workes of Creation, and Preservation, of the Lawes and Ordinances, especially of the ten Commandements, all which they hearkned unto with great attention, and liked well of; onely the seventh Commandement they excepted against, thinking there were many inconveniences in it, that a man should be tied to one woman: about which we reasoned a good time. Also I told them, that whatsoever good things we had, we received from God, as the Author and giver thereof, and therefore craved his blessing upon that we had, and were about to eate, that it might nourish and strengthen our bodies, and having eaten sufficient, being satisfied therewith, we againe returned thankes to the same our God for that our refreshing, &c. This all of them concluded to be very well, and said, they beleeved almost all the same things, and that the same power that we called God, they called Kietitan. Much profitable conference was occasioned hereby, which would be too tedious to relate, yet was no lesse delightfull to them, then comfortable to us. Here we remained onely that night, but never had better entertainment amongst any of them. *Their name of God.*

The day following, in our journey, Hobbamocke told me of the private conference he had with Massassowat, and how he charged him perfectly to acquaint me therewith (as I shewed before) which having done, he used many arguments himselfe to move us thereunto: That night we lodged at Namasket, and the day following about the mid-way betweene it and home, we met two Indians, who told us that Captaine Standish was that day gone to the Massachusets: but contrary windes againe drave him backe, so that we found him at home; where the Indian of Paomet still was, being very importunate that the Captaine should take the first opportunitie of a faire winde to goe with him, but their secret and villanous purposes being through Gods mercy now made knowne, the Governour caused Captaine Standish to send him away without any distaste or manifestation of anger, that [IV. x. 1863.]

we might the better effect and bring to passe that which should be thought most necessary.

Before this journey we heard many complaints both by the Indians and some others of best desert amongst Master Westons Colony, how exceedingly their Company abased themselves by undirect meanes, to get victuals from the Indians, who dwelt not farre from them, fetching them wood & water, &c. and all for a meales meate, whereas in the meane time, they might with diligence have gotten enough to have served them three or foure times. Other by night brake the earth, and robbed the Indians store, for which they had beene publiquely stocked and whipt, and yet was there small amendment. This was about the end of February, at which time they had spent all their Bread and Corne, not leaving any for Seede, neither would the Indians lend or sell them any more upon any tearmes. Hereupon they had thought to take it by violence, and to that spiked up every entrance into their Towne (being well impaled) save one, with a full resolution to proceede. But some more honestly minded, advised John Sanders their Over-seer first to write to Plimoth, and if the Governor advised him thereunto, he might the bétter doe it. They sent, and our Governour writ divers reasons of dislike. With these Letters wee dispatched the Messenger; Upon the receipt whereof they altered their determination, resolving to shift as they could, till the returne of John Sanders from Munhiggen, who first comming to Plimoth, notwithstanding our owne necessities, the Governour spared him some Corne to carrie them to Munhiggen. But not having sufficient for the Ships store, he tooke a Shallop, and leaving others with instructions to over-see things till his returne, set forward about the end of February, so that he knew not of this conspiracie of the Indians before his going, neither was it knowne to any of us till our returne from Sawaams or Puckanakick: at which time also another Sachim called Wassapinewat, brother to Obtakiest the Sachim of the Massachusets, who had formerly smarted for partaking

with Conbatant, and fearing the like againe, to purge himselfe, revealed the same thing.

The three and twentieth of March being now come, which is a yearely Court day, the Governour having a double testimony, and many circumstances agreeing with the truth thereof, not being to undertake warre without the consent of the body of the Company; made knowne the same in publique Court. We came to this conclusion, That Captaine Standish should take so many men as he thought sufficient to make his party good against all the Indians in the Massachuset Bay; & because (as all men know that have had to doe in that kinde) it is impossible to deale with them upon open defiance, but to take them in such traps as they lay for others; therefore he should pretend trade as at other times: but first goe to the English, & acquaint them with the plot, & the end of his owne comming, that comparing it with their carriages towards them, he might better judge of the certainty of it, and more fitly take opportunity to revenge the same: but should forbeare if it were possible till such time as he could make sure Wituwamat, that bloudy & bold villain before spoken of, whose head he had order to bring with him, that hee might be a warning and terrour to all that disposition. Upon this, Captaine Standish made choice of eight men, and would not take more because he would prevent jealousie, knowing their guilty consciences would soone be provoked thereunto: but on the next day before he could goe, came one of Master Westons Company by land unto us, with his packe at his backe, who made a pittifull narration of their lamentable and weake estate, and of the Indians carriages, whose boldnesse increased abundantly, insomuch as the victuals they got, they would take it out of their Pots and eate before their faces, yea if in any thing they gaine-said them, they were ready to hold a Knife at their breasts; that to give them content, since John Sanders went to Munhiggen, they had hanged one of them that stole their Corne, and yet they regarded it not: that

Indians insolence.

another of their Company was turned Savage, that their people had most forsaken the Towne, and made their randevous where they got their victuals, because they would not take paines to bring it home: that they had sold their cloathes for Corne, and were ready to starve both with cold and hunger also, because they could not indure to get victuals by reason of their nakednesse: and that they were dispersed into three Companies, scarce having any Powder and Shot left. As this Relation was grievous to us, so it gave us good encouragement to proceede in our intendments, for which Captaine Standish was now fitted, and the winde comming faire, the next day set forth for the Massachusets.

The Indians at the Massachusets missed this man, and suspecting his comming to us, as wee conceive, sent one after him, and gave out there that he would never come to Patuxet, but that some Wolves or Beares would eate him: but we know not by our owne experience, and the report of others, that though they finde a man sleeping, yet so soone as there is life discerned, they feare and shun him. This Indian missed him but very little, and missing him passed by the towne and went to Manomet, whom we hoped to take at his returne, as afterward we did. Now was our Fort made fit for service and some Ordnance mounted; and though it may seeme long worke it being ten moneths since it begun, yet we must note, that where so great a worke is begun with such small meanes, a little time cannot bring to perfection: beside those workes which tend to the preservation of man, the enemy of mankinde will hinder what in him lieth, sometimes blinding the judgement, and causing reasonable men to reason against their own safety. The Indian last mentioned in his returne from Monomet, came through the Towne, pretending still friendship and in love to see us, but as formerly others, so his end was to see whether wee continued still in health and strength, or fell into weakenesse like their neighbours, which they hoped and looked for (though God in mercy provided better for

[IV. x. 1864.]

us) and hee knew would be glad tydings to his Countrie men. But here the Governour staid him, and sending for him to the Fort, there gave the Guard charge of him as their prisoner, where he told him hee must be contented to remaine till the returne of Captain Standish from the Massachusets, so he was locked in a chaine to a staple in the Court of guard, and there kept. Thus was our Fort hanselled, this being the first day as I take it, that ever any watch was there kept.

The Captaine being now come to the Massachusets, went first to the Ship, but found neither man, or so much as a Dogge therein: upon the discharge of a Musket the Master and some others of the Plantation shewed themselves, who were on the shore gathering ground-nuts, and getting other foode. After salutation, Captaine Standish asked them how they durst so leave the Ship, and live in such security, who answered like men senslesse of their owne misery, they feared not the Indians but lived and suffered them to lodge with them, not having Sword or Gunne, or needing the same. To which the Captaine answered, if there were no cause he was the gladder, but upon further inquiry, understanding that those in whom John Sanders had reposed most speciall confidence and left in his stead to governe the rest, were at the Plantation: thither he went, and to be briefe, made knowne the Indians purpose, and the end of his owne comming, as also (which formerly I omitted) that if afterward they durst not there stay, it was the intendment of the Governours and people of Plimouth there to receive them till they could be better provided: but if they conceived of any other course that might be more likely for their good, that himselfe should further them therein to the uttermost of his power. These men comparing other circumstances with that they now heard, answered, they could expect no better, and it was Gods mercy that they were not killed before his comming, desiring therefore that he would neglect no opportunity to proceede: Hereupon he advised them to secrecy, yet

withall to send speciall command to one third of their Company that were farthest off to come home, and there enjoyne them on paine of death to keepe the Towne, himselfe allowing them a pint of Indian Corne to a man for a day (though that store he had was spared out of our Seede.) The weather proving very wet and stormy, it was the longer before he could doe any thing.

In the meane time an Indian came to him and brought some Furres, but rather to gather what he could from the Captaines, then comming then for trade; and though the Captaine carried things as smoothly as possibly he could, yet at his returne he reported he saw by his eyes that he was angry in his heart, and therefore began to suspect themselves discovered. This caused one Pecksuot who was a Pinese, being a man of a notable spirit to come to Hobbamocke who was then with them, and told him hee understood that the Captaine was come to kill himselfe and the rest of the Savages there; tell him, said he, we know it, but feare him not, neither will we shun him; but let him begin when he dare, he shall not take us at unawares: many times after, divers of them severally, or few together, came to the Plantation to him, where they would whet and sharpen the point of their Knives before his face, and use many other insulting gestures and speeches. Amongst the rest, Wituwamat bragged of the excellency of his Knife, on the end of the handle there was pictured a womans face, but said hee, I have another at home wherewith I have killed both French and English, and that hath a mans face on it, and by and by these two must marry: Further he said of that Knife he there had; Hinnaim namen, hinnaim michen, matta cuts: that is to say, By and by it should see, and by and by it should eate, but not speake. Also Pecksuot being a man of greater stature then the Captaine, told him, though he were a great Captaine, yet he was but a little man: and said he, though I be no Sachim, yet I am a man of great strength and courage. These things the Captaine observed, yet bare with patience for

the present. On the next day, seeing he could not get many of them together at once, and this Pecksuot and Wituwamat both together, with another man, and a youth of some eighteene yeares of age, which was brother to Wituwamat, and villaine-like trode in his steps, daily putting many trickes upon the weaker sort of men, and having about as many of his owne Company in a roome with them, gave the word to his men, and the doore being fast shut, began himselfe with Pecksuot, and snatching his owne Knife from his necke, though with much strugling, killed him therewith, the point whereof he had made as sharpe as a needle, and ground the backe also to an edge: Wituwamat and the other man, the rest killed, and tooke the youth, whom the Captaine caused to be hanged; but it is incredible how many wounds these two Pueeses received before they died, not making any fearefull noyse, but catching at their weapons and striving to the last. Hobbamocke stood by all this time as a spectator and medled not, observing how our men demeaned themselves in this action: all being here ended, smiling, he brake forth into these speeches to the Captaine; Yesterday Pecksuot bragging of his owne strength and stature, said, though you were a great Captaine, yet you were but a little man; but to day I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground. But to proceede, there being some women at the same time, Captaine Standish left them in the custody of Master Westons people at the Towne, and sent word to another Company that had intelligence of things to kill those Indian men that were amongst them, these killed two more: himselfe also with some of his owne men went to another place, where they killed another, and through the negligence of one man an Indian escaped, who discovered and crossed their proceedings.

Savages slain.

[IV. x. 1865.]

Not long before this Execution, three of Master Westons men, which more regarded their bellies then any command or Commander, having formerly fared well with the Indians for making them Canoes, went againe

Savage Englishmen.

to the Sachim to offer their service, and had entertainment. The first night they came thither within night late came a Messenger with all speede, and delivered a sad and short message: Whereupon all the men gathered together, put on their Bootes and Breeches, trussed up themselves, and tooke their Bowes and Arrowes and went forth, telling them they went a hunting, and that at their returne they should have Venison enough. Being now gone, one being more ancient and wise then the rest, calling former things to minde, especially the Captaines presence, and the strait charge, that on paine of death none should goe a Musket-shot from the Plantation; and comparing this sudden departure of theirs therewith, began to dislike and wish himselfe at home againe, which was further of then divers other dwelt: Hereupon he moved his fellowes to returne, but could not perswade them: so there being none but women left, and the other that was turned Savage, about midnight came away, forsaking the paths lest he should be pursued, and by this meanes saved his life.

Captaine Standish tooke the one halfe of his men, and one or two of Master Westons, and Hobbamock, still seeking to make spoyle of them and theirs. At length they espied a file of Indians which made towards them amayne, and there being a small advantage in the ground by reason of a Hill neere them, both Companies strove for it. Captain Standish got it, whereupon they retreated and tooke each man his Tree, letting flie their Arrowes amayne, especially at himselfe and Hobbamocke, whereupon Hobbamocke cast off his coate, and being a knowne Pinese, (theirs being now killed) chased them so fast, as our people were not able to hold way with him, insomuch as our men could have but one certaine marke, and then but the arme and halfe face of a notable villaine as hee drew at Captaine Standish, who together with another both discharged at him, and brake his arme; whereupon they fled into a swampe, when they were in the thicket they parlied, but to small purpose, getting nothing but

foule language. So our Captain dared the Sachim to come out and fight like a man, shewing how base and womanlike hee was in tounging it as he did: but he refused and fled. So the Captaine returned to the Plantation, where hee released the women and would not take their Beaver coates from them, nor suffer the least discourtesie to bee offered them. Now were Master Westons people resolved to leave their Plantation and goe for Munhiggen, hoping to get passage and returne with the Fishing Ships. The Captaine told them, that for his owne part hee durst there live with fewer men then they were, yet since they were otherwayes minded, according to his order from the Governours and people of Plimouth, hee would helpe them with Corne competent for their provision by the way, which hee did, scarce leaving himselfe more then brought them home. Some of them disliked the choice of the bodie to goe to Munhiggen, and therefore desiring to goe with him to Plimouth, hee tooke them into the Shallop: and seeing them set sayle and cleere of the Massachuset Bay, he tooke leave and returned to Plimouth, whither hee came in safetie (blessed be God) and brought the head of Wituwamat with him.

Amongst the rest, there was an Indian youth that was ever of a courteous and loving disposition towards us, hee notwithstanding the death of his Countrimen, came to the Captaine without feare, saying, His good conscience and love towards us imboldned him so to doe. This youth confessed that the Indians intended to kil Master Westons people, and not to delay any longer then till they had two more Canoes or Boats, which Master Westons men would have finished by this time (having made them three already) had not the Captaine prevented them, and the end of stay for those Boats, was to take their Ship therewith.

Now was the Captaine returned and received with joy, the head being brought to the Fort and there set up the Governours and Captaines with divers others went

up the same further, to examine the prisoner, who looked pittiously on the head, being asked whether he knew it, he answered, yea: Then he confessed the plot, and that all the people provoked Obtakiest their Sachim thereunto, being drawne to it by their importunitie: Five there were (he said) that prosecuted it with more eagernesse then the rest, the two principall were killed, being Pecksuot and Wituwamat, whose head was there, the other three were Powahs, being yet living, and knowne unto us, though one of them was wounded, as aforesaid. For himselfe hee would not acknowledge that hee had any hand therein, begging earnestly for his life, saying, Hee was not a Massachuset man, but as a stranger lived with them. Hobbamock also gave a good report of him, and besought for him, but was bribed so to doe it. Neverthelesse, that wee might shew mercy as well as extreamitie, the Governour released him, and the rather because we desired he might carry a message to Obtakiest his Master. No sooner were the Irons from his legs, but he would have beene gone, but the Governour bid him stay and feare not, for hee should receive no hurt, and by Hobbamock commanded him to deliver his message to his Master; That for our parts, it never entred into our hearts to take such a course with them, till their owne treachery enforced us thereunto, and therefore they might thanke themselves for their owne overthrow, yet since hee had begun, if againe by any the like courses hee did provoke him, his Countrey should not hold him, for hee would never suffer him or his to rest in peace, till hee had utterly consumed them, and therefore should take this as a warning. Further, that he should send to Patuxet the three Englishmen hee had and not kill them; also that hee should not spoyle the Pale and Houses at Wichaguscusset, and that this Messenger should either bring the English, or an answer, or both, promising his safe returne.

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This message was delivered, and the partie would have returned with answer, but was at first disswaded by them,

whom afterward they would, but could not perswade to come to us. At length (though long) a woman came and told us that Obtakiest was sorry that the English were killed before he heard from the Governour, otherwise hee would have sent them. Also shee said, hee would faine make his peace againe with us, but none of his men durst come to treate about it, having forsaken his dwelling, and daily removed from place to place, expecting when wee would take further vengeance on him.

Concerning those other people that intended to joyne with the Massachuseucks against us, though we never went against any of them, yet this sudden and unexpected execution, together with the just judgement of God upon their guiltie consciences, hath so terrified and amazed them, as in like manner they forsooke their houses, running to and fro like men distracted, living in swamps and other desert places, and so brought manifold diseases amongst themselves, whereof very many are dead, as Canacum the Sachim of Manomet, Aspinet the Sachim of Nauset, and Janowgh Sachim of Mattachuest. This Sachim in his life, in the middest of these distractions, said, The God of the English was offended with them, and would destroy them in his anger; and certainly it is strange to heare how many of late have, and still daily dye amongst them, neither is there any likelihood it will easily cease, because through feare they set little or no Corne, which is the staffe of life, and without which they cannot long preserve health and strength. From one of these places a Boat was sent with Presents to the Governour, hoping thereby to worke their peace, but the Boat was cast away, and three of the persons drowned, not farre from our Plantation, onely one escaped, who durst not come to us, but returned, so as none of them dare come amongst us.

The moneth of April being now come, on all hands *An.* 1623. we began to prepare for Corne. And because there was no Corne left before this time, save that was preserved for Seed, being also hopelesse of reliefe by supply, we

thought best to leave off all other workes, and prosecute that as most necessarie. And because there was no small hope of doing good, in that common course of labour that formerly wee were in, for that the Governours that followed men to their labours, had nothing to give men for their necessities, and therefore could not so well exercise that command over them therein as formerly they had done, especially considering that selfe-love wherewith every man (in a measure more or lesse) loveth and preferreth his owne good before his neighbours, and also the base disposition of some drones, that as at other times so now especially would bee most burdenous to the rest: It was therefore thought best that every man should use the best diligence he could for his owne preservation, both in respect of the time present, and to prepare his owne Corne for the yeere following: and bring in a competent portion for the maintenance of publike Officers, Fishermen, &c. which could not bee freed from their calling without greater inconveniences. This course was to continue till harvest, and then the Governours to gather in the appointed portion, for the maintenance of themselves and such others as necessitie constrained to exempt from this condition.

In the middest of Aprill we began to set, the weather being then seasonable, which much incouraged us, giving us good hopes of after plentie: the setting season is good till the latter end of May. But it pleased God for our further chastisement, to send a great drought, insomuch, as in six weekes after the later setting there scarce fell any raine, so that the stalke of that was first set, began to send forth the eare before it came to halfe growth, and that which was later, not like to yeeld any at all, both blade and stalke hanging the head, and changing the colour in such manner as we judged it utterly dead: our Beanes also ran not up according to their wonted manner, but stood at a stay, many being parched away, as though they had beene scorched before the fire. Now were our hopes overthrowne, and we

Great drought.

discouraged, our joy being turned into mourning. To adde also to this sorrowfull estate in which we were, we heard of a supply that was sent unto us many moneths since, which having two repulses before, was a third time in company of another Ship three hundred Leagues at Sea, and now in three moneths time heard no further of her, onely the signes of a wrack were seene on the Coast, which could not be judged to be any other then the same.

These & the like considerations, moved not only every good man privately to enter into examination with his own estate between God and his conscience, & so to humiliation before him: but also more solemnly to humble our selves together before the Lord by Fasting and Prayer. To that end a day was appointed by publike authority, and set a part from all other emploiments, hoping that the same God which had stirred us up hereunto, would be moved hereby in mercy to looke upon us & grant the request of our dejected soules, if our continuance there might any way stand with his glorie and our good. But oh the mercy of our God! Who was as readie to heare as we to aske: For though in the morning when wee assembled together, the heavens were as cleere and the drought as like to continue as ever it was: yet (our exercise continuing some eight or nine houres) before our departure the weather was overcast, the clouds gathered together on all sides, and on the next morning distilled such soft, sweete, and moderate showers of raine, continuing some fourteene daies, and mixed with such seasonable weather, as it was hard to say whether our withered Corne, or drouping affections were most quickned or revived. Such was the bountie and goodnesse of our God. Of this the Indians by meanes of Hobbamock tooke notice: who being then in the Towne, and this exercise in the midst of the weeke, said, It was but three daies since Sunday, and therefore demanded of a boy what was the reason thereof? Which when hee knew and saw what effects followed thereupon, hee and all them admired the goodnesse of our God towards us,

[IV. x. 1867.]

Publike Fast.

Gracious dewes.

Indians conjuration.

that wrought so great a change in so short a time, shewing the difference betweene their Conjuration, and our Invocation on the Name of God for raine; theirs being mixed with such stormes and tempests, as sometimes in stead of doing them good, it laieth the Corne flat on the ground, to their prejudice: but ours in so gentle and seasonable a manner, as they never observed the like.

M. Tomson a Scot his Plantation.

At the same time Captaine Standish, being formerly imployed by the Governour, to buy provisions for the refreshing of the Colony, returned with the same, accompanied with one M. David Tomson, a Scotchman, who also that Spring began a Plantation twentie five leagues North-east from us, neere Smiths Iles, at a place called Pascatoquack, where hee liketh well. Now also heard wee of the third repulse that our supply had, of their safe, though dangerous returne into England, and of their preparation to come to us. So that having these many signes of Gods favour and acceptation, wee thought it would bee great ingratitude, if secretly wee should smoother up the same, or content our selves with private

Day of thanks.

thanks-giving, for that which by private praier could not be obtained. And therefore another solemne day was set apart for that end, wherein wee returned glory, honour, and praise, with all thankfulnesse to our good God, which dealt so graciously with us, whose name for these and all other his mercies towards his Church and chosen ones, by them be blessed and praised now and evermore, Amen.

Two Ships.

In the latter end of July, and the beginning of August, came two Ships with supply unto us, who brought all their passengers, except one, in health, who recovered in short time, who also notwithstanding all our wants and hardship (blessed be God) found not any one sick person amongst us at the Plantation. The bigger Ship called the Anne was hired, and there againe fraighted backe, from whence wee set saile the tenth of September. The lesser called the little James, was built for the Company at their charge. Shee was now also fitted for Trade and discovery to the Southward of Cape Cod, and almost

readie to set saile, whom I pray God to blesse in her good and lawfull proceedings.

A Few things I thought meete to adde heereunto, which I have observed amongst the Indians, both touching their Religion, and sundry other Customes amongst them. And first, whereas my selfe and others, in former Letters (which came to the Presse against my will and knowledge) wrote, that the Indians about us are a people without any Religion or knowledge of any God, therein I erred, though wee could then gather no better: For as they conceive of many divine powers, so of one whom they call Kiehtan, to bee the principall maker of all the rest, and to be made by none: Hee (they say) created the Heavens, Earth, Sea, and all creatures contained therein. Also that hee made one man and one woman, of whom they and wee and all mankind came: but how they became so farre dispersed that know they not. At first they say, there was no Sachim, or King, but Kiehtan, who dwelleth above the Heavens, whither all good men goe when they die to see their friends, and have their fill of all things: This his habitation lyeth Westward in the Heavens, they say; thither the bad men goe also, and knocke at his doore, but he bids them Quachet, that is to say, Walke abroad, for there is no place for such; so that they wander in restlesse want and penury. Never man saw this Kiehtan; onely old men tell them of him, and bid them tell their children, yea, to charge them to teach their posterities the same, and lay the like charge upon them. This power they acknowledge to be good, and when they would obtaine any great matter, meet together, and cry unto him, and so likewise for plentie, victory, &c. sing, dance, feast, give thankes, and hang up Garlands and other things in memory of the same.

Their Religion. The meaning of the word, Kiehtan, I think hath reference to Antiquity, for Chise is an old man, and Kiehchise, a man that exceedeth in age. Ite maledicti.

Another power they worship, whom they call Hobbamock, and to the Northward of us Hobbamoqui; this as farre as wee can conceive is the Devill, him they call

Their Devill.

upon to cure their wounds and diseases. When they are curable, hee perswades them hee sends the same for some conceived anger against them, but upon their calling upon him can and doth helpe them: But when they are mortall, and not curable in nature, then he perswades them Kiehtan is angry and sends them, whom none can cure: insomuch, as in that respect onely they somewhat doubt whether hee bee simply good, and therefore in sicknesse never call upon him. This Hobbomock appeares in sundry formes unto them, as in the shape of a Man, a Deare, a Fawne, an Eagle, &c. but most ordinarily a Snake: Hee appeares not to all, but the chiefest and most judicious amongst them, though all of them strive to attaine to that hellish height of Honour. He appeareth most ordinary, and is most conversant with three sorts of people, one I confesse, I neither know by name nor office directly: Of these they have few but esteeme highly of them, and thinke that no weapon can kill them: another they call by the name of Powah, and the third Puiese.

Powah or Priest.

The office and dutie of the Powah is to be exercised principally in calling upon the Devill, and curing diseases of the sicke or wounded. The common people joyne with him in the exercise of Invocation, but doe but onely assent, or as we terme it, say Amen to that he saith, yet sometime breake out into a short musicall note with him. The Powah is eager and free in speech, fierce in countenance, and joyneth many antick and laborious gestures with the same over the partie diseased. If the partie be wounded, he will also seeme to sucke the wound, but if they bee curable (as they say) hee toucheth it not, but a Skooke, that is the Snake, or Wobsacuck, that is the Eagle sitteth on his shoulder and lickes the same. This none see but the Powah, who tells them hee doth it himselfe. If the partie be otherwise diseased, it is accounted sufficient if in any shape hee but come into the house, taking it for an undoubted signe of recovery.

And as in former ages Apollo had his Temple at Delphos, and Diana at Ephesus; so have I heard them

call upon some, as if they had their residence in some certaine places, or because they appeared in those formes in the same. In the Powahs speech hee promiseth to sacrifice many skinnes of Beasts, Kettles, Hatchets, *Offerings.* Beades, Knives, and other the best things they have to the fiend, if hee will come to helpe the partie diseased: But whether they performe it I know not. The other practises I have seene, being necessarily called at some times to be with their sicke, and have used the best arguments I could make them understand against the same: They have told me I should see the Devill at those times come to the party, but I assured my selfe and them of the contrary, which so proved: yea, themselves have confessed they never saw him when any of us were present. In desperate and extraordinary hard travell in childe-birth, when the partie cannot be delivered by the ordinary meanes, they send for this Powah, though ordinarily their travell is not so extreame as in our parts of the world, they being of a more hardie nature; for on the third day after childe-birth, I have seene the mother with the Infant, upon a small occasion in cold weather in a Boat upon the Sea.

Many sacrifices the Indians use, and in some cases kill *Sacrifices.* children. It seemeth they are various in their religious worship in a little distance, and grow more and more cold in their worship to Kiehtan; saying, In their memory he was much more called upon. The Narohiggansets exceed in their blind devotion, and have a great spatious house wherein onely some few (that are as wee may tearme them Priests) come: thither at certaine knowne times resort all their people, and offer almost all the riches they have to their gods, as Kettles, Skins, Hatchets, Beades, Knives, &c. all which are cast by the Priests into a great fire that they make in the midst of the house, and there consumed to ashes. To this offering every *Burnt offring.* man bringeth freely, and the more he is knowne to bring, *The Devill keeps his* hath the better esteeme of all men. This the other *servants poore.* Indians about us approve of as good, and wish their

Sachims would appoint the like: and because the plague hath not raigned at Narohigganset, as at other places about them, they attribute to this custome there used.

Their Knights. Priests: valourous counsellours.

The Panieses are men of great courage and wisedome, and to these also the Devill appeareth more familiarly then to others, and as wee conceive maketh covenant with them to preserve them from death, by wounds with Arrowes, Knives, Hatchets, &c. or at least both themselves and especially the people thinke themselves to be freed from the same. And though against their battels, all of them by painting disfigure themselves, yet they are knowne by their courage and boldnesse, by reason whereof one of them will chase almost an hundred men, for they account it death for whomsoever stand in their way. These are highly esteemed of all sorts of people, and are of the Sachims Councell, without whom they will not warre or undertake any weightie businesse. In warre their Sachims, for their more safetie goe in the midst of them. They are commonly men of greatest stature and strength, and such as will endure most hardnesse, and yet are more discreet, courteous, and humane in their carriages then any amongst them, scorning theft, lying, and the like base dealings, and stand as much upon their reputation as any men. And to the end they may have store of these, they traine up the most forward and likeliest boyes from their child-hood in great hardnesse, and make them abstaine from daintie meat, observing divers orders prescribed, to the end that when they are of age the Devill may appeare to them, causing to drinke the juyce

Bitter trialls.

of Sentry and other bitter Hearbs till they cast, which they must disgorge into the platter, and drinke againe, and againe, till at length, through extraordinary pressing of nature it will seeme to bee all bloud, and this the boyes will doe with eagernesse at the first, and so continue, till by reason of faintnesse they can scarce stand on their legs, and then must goe forth into the cold: also they beat their shins with sticks, and cause them to run through bushes, stumps, and brambles, to make them

hardy and acceptable to the Devill, that in time he may appeare unto them.

[IV. x. 1869.]

Their Sachims cannot bee all called Kings, but onely some few of them, to whom the rest resort for protection, and pay homage unto them, neither may they warre without their knowledge and approbation, yet to be commanded by the greater as occasion serveth. Of this sort is Massassowat our friend, and Conanacus of Narohiggenset our supposed enemy. Every Sachim taketh care for the widdow and fatherlesse, also for such as are aged, and any way maymed, if their friends be dead, or not able to provide for them. A Sachim will not take any to wife, but such an one as is equall to him in birth, otherwise they say their seede would in time become ignoble, and though they have many other wives, yet are they no other then concubines or servants, and yeeld a kind of obedience to the principall, who ordereth the family, and them in it. The like their men observe also, and will adhere to the first during their lives; but put away the other at their pleasure. This Government is successive and not by choyce. If the father dye before the sonne or daughter bee of age, then the childe is committed to the protection and tuition of some one amongst them, who ruleth in his stead till hee be of age, but when that is I know not.

Sachims or Lords.

Every Sachim knoweth how farre the bounds and limits of his owne Countrey extendeth, and that is his owne proper inheritance, out of that if any of his men desire land to set their Corne, hee giveth them as much as they can use, and sets them in their bounds. In this circuit whosoever hunteth, if any kill any venison, bring him his fee, which is foure parts of the same, if it bee killed on the Land, but if in the water, then the skin thereof: The Great Sachims or Kings know not their owne bounds or limits of land, as well as the rest. All Travellers or Strangers for the most part lodge at the Sachims, when they come, they tell them how long they will stay, and to what place they goe, during which time they receive

entertainment according to their persons, but want not.

Tribute. Once a yeere the Pnieses use to provoke the people to bestow much Corne on the Sachim. To that end they appoint a certaine time and place neere the Sachims dwelling, where the people bring many baskets of Corne, and make a great stack thereof. There the Pnieses stand ready to give thankes to the people on the Sachims behalfe, and after acquainteth the Sachim therewith, who fetcheth the same, and is no lesse thankfull, bestowing many gifts on them.

When any are visited with sicknesse, their friends resort unto them for their comfort, and continue with

Mourning for the dead. them oftentimes till their death or recovery. If they die they stay a certaine time to mourne for them. Night and morning they performe this dutie many daies after the buriall in a most dolefull manner, insomuch as though it bee ordinary, and the Note Musicall, which they take one from another, and altogether, yet it will draw teares from their eyes, and almost from ours also. But if they recover then because their sicknesse was chargeable, they send Corne and other gifts unto them at a certaine appointed time, whereat they feast and dance, which they call Commoco.

Burialls. When they bury the dead, they sowe up the corps in a mat and so put it in the earth. If the partie be a Sachim, they cover him with many curious mats, and bury all his riches with him, and inclose the grave with a pale. If it bee a childe, the father will also put his owne most speciall Jewels and Ornaments in the earth with it, also he will cut his haire and disfigure himselfe very much in token of sorrow. If it bee the man or woman of the house, they will pull downe the mats and leave the frame standing, and bury them in or neere the same, and either remove their dwelling, or give over house-keeping.

The men imploy themselves wholly in hunting, and other exercises of the Bow, except at some times they

Womens slavery. take some paine in fishing. The women live a most slavish life, they carry all their burdens, set and dresse

their Corne, gather it in, and seeke out for much of their food, beate and make readie the Corne to eate, and have all houshold care lying upon them.

The younger sort reverence the elder, and doe all meane offices whilst they are together, although they be strangers. Boyes and girles may not weare their haire like men and women, but are distinguished thereby.

Manhood. A man is not accounted a man till he doe some notable act, or shew forth such courage and resolution as becommeth his place. The men take much Tobacco, but for boyes so to doe they account it odious.

Names. All their names are significant and variable; for when they come to the state of men and women, they alter them according to their deeds or dispositions.

Maids & wives. When a maide is taken in marriage, shee first cutteth her haire, and after weareth a covering on her head till her haire be growne out. Their women are diversly disposed, some as modest as they will scarce talke one with another in the company of men, being very chaste also: yet other some light, lascivious and wanton. If a woman have a bad husband, or cannot affect him, and there bee warre or opposition betweene that and any other people, shee will runne away from him to the contrary partie and there live, where they never come unwelcome: for where are most women, there is greatest plentie. When a woman hath her monethly termes, shee separateth her selfe from all other company, and liveth certaine dayes in a house alone: after which she washeth her selfe and all that shee hath touched or used, and is againe received to her husbands bed or family. For adultery the husband will beat his wife and put her away, if he please. Some common strumpets there are as well as in other places, but they are such as either never married, or widowes, or put away for adultery: for no man will keepe such an one to wife. [IV. x. 1870.] *Adulterie and whooredome.*

Theft. In matters of unjust and dishonest dealing the Sachim examineth and punisheth the same. In case of thefts, for the first offence hee is disgracefully rebuked, for the

second beaten by the Sachim with a cudgell on the naked backe, for the third hee is beaten with many stroakes, and hath his nose slit upward, that thereby all men may both know and shun him. If any man kill another, hee must likewise die for the same. The Sachim not onely passeth the sentence upon malefactors, but executeth the same with his owne hands, if the partie bee then present; if not, sendeth his owne knife in case of death, in the hands of others to performe the same. But if the offender bee to receive other punishment, hee will not receive the same but from the Sachim himselfe, before whom being naked he kneeleth, and will not offer to runne away though hee beat him never so much, it being a greater disparagement for a man to cry during the time of his correction, then is his offence and punishment.

Murther.

Crying, a cowards note.

Apparell.

As for their apparell, they weare breeches and stockings in one, like some Irish, which is made of Deere skinnes, and have shooes of the same leather. They weare also a Deeres skinne loose about them like a cloake, which they will turne to the weather side. In this habite they travell, but when they are at home, or come to their journeyes end, presently they pull of their breeches, stockings, and shooes, wring out the water, if they bee wet, and drie them, and rub or chafe the same. Though these be off, yet have they another small garment that covereth their secrets. The men weare also when they goe abroad in cold weather, an Otter or Fox skin on their right arme, but onely their bracer on their left. Women and all of that sex weare strings about their legs, which the men never doe.

Wittie people. Their Arts. Note.

The people are very ingenious and observative, they keepe account of time by the Moone, and Winters or Summers; they know divers of the Starres by name, in particular, they know the North-star, and call it Maske, which is to say, The Beare. Also they have many names for the Winds. They will guesse very well at the wind and weather before hand, by observations in the Heavens. They report also, that some of them can cause the wind

to blow in what part they list, can raise stormes and tempests, which they usually doe when they intend the death or destruction of other people, that by reason of the unseasonable weather, they may take advantage of their enemies in their houses. At such times they performe their greatest exployts, and in such seasons when they are at enmitie with any, they keepe more carefull watch then at other times.

Language. As for the language it is verie copious, large, and difficult, as yet wee cannot attaine to any great measure thereof; but can understand them, and explaine our selves to their understanding, by the helpe of those that daily converse with us. And though there be difference in an hundred miles distant of place, both in language and manners, yet not so much but that they very well understand each other. And thus much of their lives and manners.

Registers. In stead of Records and Chronicles, they take this course, where any remarkeable act is done, in memory of it, either in the place, or by some pathway neere adjoyning, they make a round hole in the ground about a foot deepe, and as much over, which when others passing by behold, they enquire the cause and occasion of the same, which being once knowne, they are carefull to acquaint all men as occasion serveth therewith. And least such holes should bee filled, or growne up by any accident, as men passe by they will oft renew the same: By which meanes many things of great Antiquitie are fresh in memory. So that as a man travelleth, if hee can understand his guide, his journey will be the less tedious, by reason of many historicall Discourses will be related unto him.

The Country. For that Continent, on which wee are called New-England, although it hath ever beene conceived by the English, to bee a part of the maine Land adjoyning to Virginia, yet by relation of the Indians it should appeare to bee otherwise: for they affirme confidently, that it is *New England an Iland.* an Iland, and that either the Dutch or French passe thorow from Sea to Sea, betweene us and Virginia, and

drive a great Trade in the same. The name of that Inlet of the Sea, they call Mohegon, which I take to be the same which wee call Hudsons River, up which Master Hudson went many leagues, and for want of meanes (as I heare) left it undiscovered. For confirmation of this, their opinion is thus much; Though Virginia bee not above an hundred and fiftie leagues from us, yet they never heard of Powhatan, or knew that any English were planted in his Countrey, save onely by us and Tisquantum, who went into an English Ship thither: And therefore it is the more probable, because the water is not passable for them, who are very adventurous in their Boates.

Seasons. Then for the temperature of the ayre, in almost three yeeres experience, I can scarce distinguish New England from Old England, in respect of heate, and cold, frost, snow, raine, winds, &c. Some object, because our Plantation lieth in the latitude of two and fortie, it must needes bee much hotter. I confesse I cannot give the reason of the contrary; onely experience teacheth us, that if it doe exceed England, it is so little as must require better judgements to discerne it. And for the Winter, I rather thinke (if there be difference) it is both sharper and longer in New England then Old; and yet the want of those comforts in the one which I have enjoyed in the other, may deceive my judgement also. But in my best observation, comparing our owne conditions with the Relations of other parts of America, I cannot conceive of any to agree better with the constitution of the English, not being oppressed with extremitie of heat, nor nipped with biting cold, by which meanes, blessed be God, wee enjoy our health, notwithstanding those difficulties wee have undergone, in such a measure as would have been admired if we had lived in England with the like meanes.

[IV. x. 1871.]

Dayes. The day is two houres longer then here, when it is at the shortest, and as much shorter when it is at the longest.

Soyle. The soyle is variable, in some places Mould, in some Clay, and others a mixed Sand, &c. The chiefest graine is the Indian Mays, or Ginny-Wheat; the seed-time

beginneth in the midst of April, and continueth good till the midst of May. Our Harvest beginneth with September. This Corne increaseth in great measure, but *Corne.* is inferiour in quantitie to the same in Virginia, the reason I conceive, is because Virginia is farre hotter then it is with us, it requiring great heat to ripen; but whereas it is objected against New England, that Corne will not there grow, except the ground bee manured with Fish: I answere, That where men set with Fish (as with us) it is more easie so to doe, then to cleere ground and set without some five or sixe yeeres, and so begin a new, as in Virginia and elsewhere. Not but that in some places, where they cannot be taken with ease in such abundance, the Indians set foure yeeres together without, and have as good Corne or better then we have that set with them, though indeed I thinke if wee had Cattell to till the ground, it would be more profitable and better agreeable to the soyle, to sowe Wheat, Ry, Barley, Pease, and Oats, then to set Mays, which our Indians call Ewachim: for we have had experience that they like and thrive well; and the other will not bee procured without good labour and diligence, especially at seed-time, when it must also bee watched by night to keepe the Wolves from the Fish, till it be rotten, which will bee in fourteene dayes; yet men agreeing together, and taking their turnes it is not much.

Much might bee spoken of the benefit that may come to such as shall here plant by Trade with the Indians for Furres, if men take a right course for obtaining the same; for I dare presume upon that small experience I have had, to affirme, that the English, Dutch, and French, returne yeerely many thousand pounds profits by Trade onely from that Iland, on which wee are seated.

Tobacco may bee there planted, but not with that profit as in some other places, neither were it profitable there to follow it, though the increase were equall, because Fish is a better and richer Commoditie, and more necessary, which may be, and there are had in as great abundance as in any other part of the world; Witnesse the West-

countrey Merchants of England, which returne incredible gaines yeerely from thence. And if they can so doe which here buy their salt at a great charge, and transport more Company to make their voyage, then will saile their Ships, what may the Planters expect when once they are seated, and make the most of their Salt there, and imploy themselves at lest eight moneths in fishing, whereas the other fish but foure, and have their Ship lie dead in the Harbour all the time, whereas such shipping as belong to Plantations may take fraight of Passengers or Cattle thither, and have their lading provided against they come. I confesse we have come so far short of the meanes to raise such returns, as with great difficultie wee have preserved our lives; insomuch as when I looke backe upon our condition, and weake meanes to preserve the same, I rather admire at Gods mercies and providence in our preservation, then that no greater things have beene effected by us. But though our beginning have beene thus raw, small, and difficult, as thou hast seene, yet the same God that hath hitherto led us thorow the former, I hope will raise meanes to accomplish the latter.

Chap. VI.

Nova Scotia. The Kings Patent to Sir William Alexander Knight, for the Plantation of New Scotland in America, and his proceedings therein; with a description of Mawooshen for better knowledge of those parts.

Acobus Dei gratia Magnæ Brittanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex fideique defensor: Omnibus probis hominibus totius terræ suæ Clericis & laicis salutem. Sciatis nos semper ad quamlibet quæ ad decus & emolumentum regni nostri Scotiæ spectaret occasionem amplectendum fuisse intentos, nullamque aut faciliorem aut magis innoxiam acquisitionem censere, quàm quæ inexteris & incultis

regnis ubi vitæ & victui suppectunt commode nevis deducendis Coloniis factu sit; præsertim si vel ipsa regna cultoribus prius vacua, vel ab infidelibus, quos ad Christianam converti fidem & Dei gloriam interest plurimum, insessa fuerint. Sed cum & alia nonnulla [IV. x. regna, & hæc non ita pridem nostra Anglia laudabiliter 1872.] sua nomina novis terris acquisitis sed in se subactis indiderunt, quam numerosa & frequens divino beneficio hæc gens, hac tempestate sit nobiscum reputantes, quamque honesto aliquo & utili cultu eam studiose exerceri ne in deteriora ex ignavia & otio prolabatur expediat plerosque in novam deducendos regionem quam Coloniis compleant, operæ pretium duximus qui & animi promptitudine & alacritate corporumque robore & viribus quibuscunque difficultatibus, si qui alii mortalium uspiam se audiant opponere, hunc conatum huic regno maxime idoneum inde arbitramur quod virorum tantummodo & mulierum jumentorum & frumenti, non etiam pecuniæ transvectionem postulat, neque incommodam ex ipsius regni mercibus retributionem hoc tempore cum negotiatio adeo imminuta sit, possit reponere. Hisce de causis sicuti & propter bonum fidele & gratum dilecti nostri consiliarii Domini Willelmi Alexandri equitis servitium nobis præstitum & præstandum, qui propriis impensis ex nostratibus primus externam hanc coloniam ducendam conatus sit, diversasque terras infra designatis limitibus circumscriptas incolendas expetiverit. Nos igitur ex regali nostra ad Christianam religionem propagandam & ad opulentiam, prosperitatem, pacemque naturalium nostrorum subditorum dicti regni nostri Scotiæ acquirendam cura, sicuti alii Principes extranei in talibus casibus hactenus fecerunt, cum avisamento & consensu prædicti nostri consanguinei & consiliarii Joannis Comitis de Marr Domini Erskene & Garrioche summi nostri Thesaurarii computorum rotulatoris collectoris ac Thesaurarii novarum nostrarum augmentationum hujus Regni nostri Scotiæ, ac reliquorum dominorum nostrorum Commissionariorum ejusdem Regni nostri, dedimus concessimus & dis-

posuimus, tenoreque præsentis chartæ nostræ damus concedimus & disponimus præfacto Domino Willelmo Alexandro, hæredibus suis vel assignatis quibuscunque hæreditariè omnes & singulas terras continentis ac insulas situatas & jacentes in America, intra caput seu promontorium communiter Cap. de Sable appellatum jacens prope latitudinem quadraginta trium graduum aut ab eo circa, ab æquinoctiali linea versus septentrionem, à quo premontorio versus littus maris tendentis ad occidentem ad stationem Sanctæ Mariæ navium (vulgo S. Maries Bay) & deinceps versus septentrionem per directam lineam introitum sive ostium magnæ illius stationis navium trajicientem quæ excurrit in terræ orientalem plagam inter Regionis Suriquorum & Etechemmorum (vulgo Suriquois & Etechemines) ad fluvium vulgo nomine Santæ Crucis appellatum: Et ad scaturiginem remotissimam sive fontem ex occidentali parte ejusdem qui se primum prædicto fluvio immiscet, unde per imaginariam directam lineam quæ pergere per terram seu currere versus septentrionem concipietur ad proximam navium stationem, fluvium vel scaturiginem in magno fluvio de Cannada sese exonerantem. Et ab eo pergendo versus orientem per maris oras littorales ejusdem fluvii de Cannada ad fluvium stationem navium portum aut littus communiter nomine de Gachepe vel Gaspe notum & appellatum, Et deinceps versus Euronotum ad insulas Bacalaos vel Cap. Briton vocatas Relinquendo easdem Insulas à dextra & voraginem dicti magni fluvii de Cannada sive magne stationis navium & terras de New-found-land, cum insulis ad easdem terras pertinentibus à sinistra. Et deinceps ad Caput sive promentorum de Cap. Briton prædictum jacens prope latitudinem quadraginta quinque graduum aut eo circa. Et à dicto promentorio de Cap. Briton versus meridiem & Occidentem ad prædictum Cap. Sable ubi incipit perambulatio includenda & comprehenda intra dictas maris oras littorales ac earum circumferentias à mari ad omnes terras continentis cum fluminibus torrentibus, sinubus, littoribus, insulis aut maribus jacentibus prope

infra sex lucas ad aliquam earundem partem ex occidentali boreali vel orientali partibus orarum littoralium & præcinctuum earundem. Et ab Euronoto (uti jacet Cap. Britton) & ex australi parte ejusdem ubi est Cap. de Sable omnia maria ac insulas versus meridiem intra quadraginta leucas dictarum orarum littoralium earundem magnam insulam vulgariter appellatam Ile de Sable vel Sablon includen. jacen. versus carban vulgo South South-east, circa triginta leucas à dicto Cap. Britton in mari & existen. in latitudine quadraginta quatuor graduum aut eo circa. Quæ quidem terræ prædictæ omni tempore affuturo nomine Novæ Scotiæ in America gaudebunt, Quas etiam præfatus Dominus Willelmus in partes & portiones sicut ei visum fuerit dividet iisdemque nemina pro beneplacito imponet. Una cum omnibus fodinis tum regalibus auri & argenti quam aliis fodinis ferri, plumbi, cupri, stanni, æris, &c.

In cujus rei testimonium huic præsenti Chartæ nostræ magnum Sigillum nostrum apponi præcepimus Testibus prædictis nostris consanguineis & Consiliariis Jacobo Marchione de Hamilton Comite Arraniæ & Cambridge Domino Aven & Innerdail, Georgio Mariscalli comite Domino Keith & alt. regni nostri Mariscallo, Alexandro Comite de Dunfermling Domino Fyviæ & urquhant nostro Cancellario, Thoma Comite de Melros Domino Byres & Bynning nostro Secretario, Dilectis nostris familiaribus Consiliariis Domino Richardo KoKburne Juniore de Clerkington nostri Secreti Sigilli custode, Georgio Hay de Knifarunis nostrorum Rotulorum Registrorum ac Concilii Clerico, Joanne Cockburne de Ormestoun nostræ Justitiariæ Clerico, & Joanne Scot de Scottistaruet nostræ Cancellariæ Directore, Militibus. Apud Castellum nostrum de Winsore decimo die mensis septembris Anno Domini milesimo sexentesimo vigesimo primo Regnorumque nostrorum annis quinquagesimo quinto & decimo nono.

Sir Ferdinando Gorge being entrusted with the affayres

of New England, after hee had advised with some of the Company; considering the largenesse of the bounds intended to bee planted by his Majesties subjects in America, and the slow progresse of Plantations in these parts, that the Scottish Nation may be perswaded to imbarke themselves in their forraine enterprise; hee was content that Sir William Alexander * Knight, one of his Majesties most Honorable Privy Councel of that Kingdome, should procure a Patent of such a bounds as his Majestie should appoint to bee called New Scotland, and to bee held of the Crowne of Scotland, and governed by the Lawes of that Kingdome, as his said Patent containing all the bounds, that doth lie to the East of Saint Croix, compassed with the great River of Canada on the North, and the Maine Ocean on the South doth more particularly beare. Whereupon the said Sir William did set out a Shippe with a Colony of purpose to plant, which being too late in setting forth were forced to stay all the Winter at New-found-Land, and though they had a Shippe with new provisions the next Spring from the sayde Sir William, yet by reason of some unexpected occasions, the chiefe of the Company resolved not to plant at the first, but onely to discover and to take possession, which a number made choyce of for that purpose did happily performe.

**For the Description & incouragements to this designe, and for better* [IV. x. 1873.] *knowledge of New Scotland, besides a Book purposely published by the Honourable & learned Author (who at other weapons hath plaied his Muses prizes, and given the world ample testimony of his learning) you may read our 8. Booke from the sixt Chapter forwards, the last two Chapiters of the ninth Booke, & that description of the Countrey of Mawooshen, which I have added hereto.*

The three and twentieth of June, they loosed from Saint Johns Harbour in New-found-Land, and sayled towardes New Scotland, where for the space of fourteene dayes they were by Fogges and contrarie Windes kept backe from spying Land till the eight of July: thereafter that they saw the West part of Cape Breton, and so till the thirteenth day, they sayled to and fro alongst the Coast till they came the length of Port de Muton, where they discovered three very pleasant Harbours, and went a shoare in one of them, which they called Lukes Bay, where they found a great way up to a very pleasant River being three fathoms deepe at low water; at the entry thereof, and on every side of the same they did see very

An. 1622. *An.* 1623. *Lukes Bay.*

delicate Meadowes, having Roses white and red growing thereon, with a kind of wild Lilly, which had a very daintie smell.

The next day they resolved to coast alongst to discover the next Harbour, which was but two leagues distant from the other, where they found a more pleasant River, being foure fathom water at a low water, with Meadowes on both sides thereof, having Roses and Lillies growing thereon as the other had. They found within this River a very fit place for a Plantation, both in regard that it was naturally apt to bee fortified, and that all the ground betweene the two Rivers was without Wood, and was good fat earth having severall sorts of Berries growing thereon, as Gooseberry, Strawberry, Hyndberry, Rasberry, and a kinde of Red-wineberry: As also some sorts of Graine, as Pease, some eares of Wheat, Barley, and Rye, growing there wild; the Pease grow every where in abundance, very big and good to eate, but taste of the Fitch. This River is called Port Jolly, from whence they coasted alongst to Port Negro, being 12. leagues distant, where all the way as they sailed alongst they found a very pleasant Countrey having growing every where such things as they did see in the two Harbours where they had beene. They found likewise in every River abundance of Lobsters, and Cockles, and other small fishes; and also they found not onely in the Rivers, but all the Coast alongst, numbers of severall sorts of Wild-fowle, as Wild-goose, Black-Duck, Woodcock, Herron, Pigeon, and many other sorts of Fowle which they knew not. They found likewise, as they sailed alongst the Coast abundance of great Cod, with severall other sorts of great fishes. The Countrey is full of Woods, not very thick, and the most part Oake, the rest Fir-tree, Spruce, Birch, and many other sorts of wood which they had not seene before.

Fit place for a Plantation.

Port Jolly.

Port Negro.

Having discovered this part of the Countrey in regard of the voyage, their Ship was to make to the Straits with fishes, they resolved to coast alongst from Lukes Bay to

Port de Muton, being foure leagues to the East thereof, where they encountred with a Frenchman, that in a very short time had a great voyage, having furnished one Ship away with fishes, and had neere so many ready as to load his owne Ship and others. And having taken a view of this Port, which to their judgement they found no wayes inferiour to the rest they had seene before, they resolved to retire backe to New-found-land, where their Ship was to receive her loading of fishes, the twentieth of July they loosed from thence, and the seven and twentieth thereof they arrived at Saint Johns Harbour in New-found-land; and from thence sailed alongst the Bay of Conception, where they left the Ship, and dispatched themselves home in severall Ships that belonged to the West part of England, and doe intend this next Spring to set forth a Colony to plant there.

The description of the Countrey of Mawooshen, discovered by the English in the yeere 1602. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. and 9.

This description of Mawooshen I had amongst M. Hakluyts papers.

MAwooshen is a Countrey lying to the North and by East of Virginia, betweene the degrees of 43. and 45. It is fortie leagues broad, and fiftie in length, lying in breadth East and West, and in length North and South. It is bordered on the East side with a Countrey, the people, whereof they call Tarrantines: on the West with Epistoman, on the North with a great Wood called Senaglecounc, and on the South with the mayne Ocean Sea, and many Ilands.

Climate and quantitie.

Tarantines are said to be the same with the Souriquois.

In Mawooshen it seemeth there are nine Rivers, whereof the first to the East is called Quibiquesson; on which there is one Towne, wherein dwell two Sagamos or Lords, the one called Asticon, the other Abermot. In this Towne are fiftie houses, and 150. men. The name of which Towne is Precante; this River runneth farre up into the Mayne, at the head thereof there is a Lake of a great length and breadth; it is at the fall

1. *Quibequesson River.*

[IV. x. 1874.] *Asticon Sagamo.*

A great Lake.

FRANCE

GOLFE OF CANADA

NEW FOVND LANDE

Alexandria

NEW The Prouince of Alexandria

SCOT:

NEW ENGLANDE

NEW LANDE

The Prouince of Caledonia

Riuer of Saguenay

Tadousac

Anticosti

The great riuer of Caneda

Kebec

Ile of Orleans

Tweede

Sulway

Forth

Clyde

Argals Bay

Luckesburgh

Rosignol

Cape Sandy

B. Blacke

Campseau

Sandy Ile

C. Brittan

B. Plasenta

Bristolls Hope

Sr Geo: Caluert

Lord Vic: Faitland

C. Ras

St Peters Ilands

Cape Cod

Slaghthahock

E. of Arundell

E. of Carlile

E. of Holderness

E. of Pembrock

E. of Sheffild

E. of Warrwick

D. of Buckingham

D. of Richmond

M. Leings

D. Surcliffe

Lo: Gorges

St Sam: Argall

D. Bar: Gooch

This Scale conteineth 150 Englisſh Leagues

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150

MAP OF NOVA SCOTIA

into the Sea tenne fathoms deepe, and halfe a mile over.

The next is Pemaquid, a goodly River and very commodious all things considered; it is ten fathoms water at the entrance, and fortie miles up there are two fathoms and a halfe at low water; it is halfe a mile broad, and runneth into the Land North many daies journey: where is a great Lake of 18. leagues long and foure broad. In this Lake are seven great Ilands: toward the farthest end there falleth in a River, which they call Acaconstomed, where they passe with their Boates thirtie daies journey up, and from thence they goe over Land twentie daies journey more, and then come to another River, where they have a trade with Anadabis or Anadabiion, with whom the Frenchmen have had commerce for a long time. Neere to the North of this River of Pemaquid are three Townes: the first is Upsegon, where Bashabes their chiefe Lord doth dwell. And in this Towne are sixtie houses, and 250. men, it is three daies journey within the Land. The second is Caiocame; the third Shasheekeing. These two last Townes are opposite one to the other, the River dividing them both, and they are two daies journey from the Towne of Bashabes. In Caiocame dwelleth Maiesquis, and in Shasheokeing Bowant, two Sagamos, subjects to Bashabes. Upon both sides of this River up to the very Lake, for a good distance the ground is plaine, without Trees or Bushes, but full of long Grasse, like unto a pleasant meadow, which the Inhabitants doe burne once a yeere to have fresh feed for their Deere. Beyond this Meadow are great Woods, whereof more shall bee spoken hereafter. The River of Pemaquid is foure dayes journey from the mouth of Quibiquesson.

2. *Pemaquid river.*

A great Lake.

Anadabis.

Three townes.

Bashabes.

Caiocame.

The third River is called Ramassoc, and is distant from the mouth of Pemaquid foure daies journey; it is twentie fathoms at the entrance, and hath a mile over; it runneth into the Land three daies journey, and within lesse then a daies journey of the dwelling of Bashabes: upon this

3. *Ramassoc.*

Panobscot a Towne. River there is a Towne named Panobscot, the Lord whereof is called Sibatahood; who hath in his Town fiftie houses, and eightie men.

4. *Apanawapeske.* The fourth River Apanawapeske, lying West and by South of Ramassoc, at the entrance whereof there is twentie fathoms water, and it is a mile broad: it runneth up into the Countrey five daies journey; and within three daies of the mouth are two Townes, the one called Meecombe, where dwelleth Aramasoga, who hath in his Towne fiftie houses, and eightie men. The other is Chebegnadose, whose Lord is Skanke, and hath thirtie houses and ninetie men. The mouth of Apanawapeske is distant from Ramassoc three daies journey.

5. *Apanmensek.* To the South-west foure daies journey, there is another excellent River; in the entrance whereof is twentie fathoms water, and it is a quarter of a mile broad, it runneth into the Land two daies journey, and then there is a great fall, at the head whereof there is a Lake of a daies journey long and as much in breadth. On the side of this Lake there is a Strait, and at the end of that Strait there is another Lake of foure daies journey long, and two daies journey broad; wherin there are two Ilands, one at the one end, and another at the other end. I should have told you that both these Lakes, as also the rest formerly spoken of, doe infinitely abound with fresh water fish of all sorts, as also with divers sorts of Creatures, as Otters, Beeves, sweete Rats, and such like.

A Lake.

Another Lake.

All the Lakes full of Fish, Beeves, and sweet Rats.

6. *Apponick.* The sixt River is called Apponick, on which there are three Townes; the first is called Appisham, where dwelleth Abochigishic. The second is Mesaqueegamic, where dwelleth Amniquin, in which there is seventie houses and eightie men; the third is Matammiscowte, in which are eightie houses and ninetie men, and there dwelleth Narracommique.

7. *Aponeg.* To the Westward of this there is another River called Aponeg: it hath at the entrance ten fathoms water, and is a mile broad: it runneth up into a great Sound of fresh water. Upon the East side of this River there are

two Townes, the one called Nebamocago, the other called Asshawe. In the first dwelleth Mentaurmet, and hath in his Towne 160. housholds, and some 300. men. In the second dwelleth Hamerhaw, and hath in his Towne eightie housholds and seventie men. On the West side there is another Towne called Neredoshan, where are 120. housholds, and 100. men. There is a Sagamo or Lord called Sabenaw.

Three daies journey from Aponeg to the Westward, there is a goodly River called Sagadohoc: the entrance whereof is a mile and an halfe over, holding that breadth a daies journey, and then it maketh a great Sound of three daies journey broad: in which Sound are six Ilands, foure great and full of Woods, and two lesse without Woods: The greater are called Sowaghcoc, Neguiwo, Neiwoc. And in the verie entrance of this River there is another small Iland: from the West of which Iland to the Maine, there is a Sand that maketh as it were a bar, so that that way is not passable for shipping: but to the Eastward there is two fathoms water. This Sound divideth it selfe into two branches or armes, the one running North-east twentie foure daies journey, the other North-west thirtie daies journey into the Maine: At the heads whereof there are two Lakes, the Westermost being eight daies journey long, and foure daies journey broad; and the Eastermost foure daies journey long, and two daies broad. The River of Aponeg runneth up into this Sound, and so maketh as it were a great Iland between Sagadahoc and it. From the Iland upward the water is fresh, abounding in Salmons, and other fresh-water fish. Some thirteene or fourteen daies journey from the entrance in the North-east branch, there is a little arme of a River that runneth East some daies journey, which hath at the entrance foure fathoms water. Upon this arme there is one over fall, which standeth halfe a daies journey above this branch: upon this arme there are foure Townes: The first is called Kenebeke, which hath eightie houses, and one hundred men. The Lord whereof is Apom-

8. *Sagadahoc. Here C. Popham built S. Georges Fort, and planted.*

Great Sound.

Two Lakes.

[IV. x. 1875.]

A great Iland.

Kenebeke.

hamen. The second is Ketangheanycke, and the Sagamos name is Octoworthe, who hath in his Towne ninetie housholds, and three hundred and thirtie men. This Towne is foure dayes journey from Kenebeke, and eight dayes journey from To the Northward is the third Towne, which they call Naragooc; where there are fiftie housholds, and one hundred and fiftie men. The chiefe Sagamo of that place is Cocockohamas. And on the small branch that runneth East standeth the fourth Towne, named by Massakiga; where there are but eight housholds, and fortie men. Upon the Northwest branch of this Sound stand two Townes more: The first is called Amereangan, and is distant from Kenebeke sixe dayes journey. In this place are ninetie housholdes, and two hundred and sixtie men, with two Sagamoes; the one called Sasuoa, the other Scawas. Seven daies journey hence there is another Sagamo, whose name is Octoworokin, and his Townes name Namercante, wherein are fortie housholds, and one hundred and twentie men. A dayes journey above Namercante there is a downefall, where they cannot passe with their Cannoes, but are inforced to carrie them by Land for the space of a quarter of a mile, and then they put them into the River againe: And twelve dayes journey above this Downfall there is another, where they carrie their Boates as at the first; and sixe dayes journey more to the North is the head of this River, where is the Lake that is of eight dayes journey long, and foure dayes broad before mentioned. In this Lake there is one Iland; and three dayes journey from this Lake there is a Towne which is called Buccawganecants, wherein are threescore housholds, and foure hundred men: And the Sagamo thereof is called Baccatusshe. This man and his people are subjects to the Bashabez of Mawooshen, and in his Countrey is the farthest limit of his Dominion, where he hath any that doe him homage.

9. *Ashamahaga.* To the Westward of Sagadahoc, foure dayes journey there is another River called Ashamahaga, which hath

at the entrance sixe fathoms water, and is halfe a quarter of a mile broad: it runneth into the Land two dayes journey: and on the East side there is one Towne called Agnagebcoc, wherein are seventie houses, and two hundred and fortie men, with two Sagamos, the one called Maurmet, the other Casherokenit.

10. *Shawakotoc.*

Seven dayes journey to the South-west of Ashamahaga there is another River, that is sixe fathoms to the entrance: This River is named Shawakotoc, and is halfe a myle broad; it runneth into the Land fiftie dayes journey: but foure dayes from the entrance it is so narrow, that the Trees growing on each side doe so crosse with their boughes and bodies on the other, as it permitteth not any meanes to passe with Boates that way: for which cause the Inhabitants that on any occasion are to travell to the head, are forced to goe by Land, taking their way upon the West side. At the end of this River there is a Lake of foure dayes journey long, and two dayes broad, wherein are two Ilands. To the North-West foure daies journey from this Lake, at the head of this River Shawakatoc there is a small Province, which they call Crokemago, wherein is one Towne. This is the Westermost River of the Dominions of Basshabez, and Quibiquisson the Westermost.

A Lake foure dayes journey long & 2. broad.

To the Reader.

I Have thought good to adde to the English Plantations in New England, those in the neighbour Countrey of New-found-land. This was first discovered, Ann. 1497. by S. Sebastian Cabot, set forth by King Henry the seventh: the Voyages followed of M. Rut, Albert de Prato, M. Hore, and others. Ann. 1583. actuall and formall possession, was taken in the right of Queene Elizabeth of glorious memory, and her Successours, by that memorable Knight, Sir Humfrey Gilbert (see sup. lib. 4. ca. 13.) And in the yeere, 1609. M. John Guy of Bristoll did write a Treatise to animate the English to plant there, a written Copy whereof I have. A. 1610.

It pleased his most excellent Majestie to grant a Patent for a Plantation, part whereof (the whole might seeme too long for our purpose) we have inserted.

[IV. x. 1876.]

Chap. VII.

The beginning of the Patent for New-found-land; and the Plantation there made by the English, 1610. delivered in a Letter dated thence from M. Guy, to M. Slany: Also of the weather the three first Winters, and of Captaine Weston: with other remarkable Occurrents.

Ames, by the Grace of God, of Great Brittaine, France, and Ireland King, Defendour of the Faith, &c. To all people to whom these Presents shall come, greeting. Know yee, whereas divers Our loving and well disposed Subjects, are desirous to make Plantation to inhabite and to establish a Colony or Colonies, in the Southerne and Easterne parts of the Countrey, and Ile or Ilands, commonly called New-found-land, unto the Coast and Harbour whereof the Subjects of this our Realme of England have for the space of fiftie yeeres and upwards, yeerely used to resort in no small numbers to fish; intending by such Plantation and inhabiting, both to secure and make safe the said Trade of Fishing to Our Subjects for ever; And also, to make some commendable benefit for the use of mankind by the lands and profits thereof, which hitherto from the beginning (as it seemeth manifest) hath remained unprofitable: And for better performance of such their purpose and intentions, have humbly besought Our Regall Authoritie and assistance; Wee being well assured that the same Land or Countrey adjoyning to the foresaid Coasts, where Our Subjects use to fish, remaineth so destitute and desolate of inhabitance, that scarce any one Savage person hath in many yeeres beene seene in the

most parts thereof: And well knowing that the same lying, and being so vacant, is as well for the reasons aforesaid, as for many other reasons very commodious for Us and Our Dominions: And that by the Law of Nature, and Nations, We may of Our Royall Authoritie, possesse our selves, and make graunt thereof, without doing wrong to any other Prince, or State, considering they cannot justly pretend any Soveraigntie or Right thereunto, in respect that the same remaineth so vacant and not actually possessed, and inhabited by any Christian, or other whomsoever. And therefore, thinking it a matter and action well beseeming a Christian King, to make true use of that which God from the beginning created for mankind; And therefore intending, not onely to worke and procure the benefit and good of many of Our Subjects, but principally to increase the knowledge of the Omnipotent God, and the propagation of Our Christian Faith, have graciously accepted of their said intention, and suit. And therefore doe of Our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, for Us, Our Heires, and Successors, give, graunt, and confirme by these Presents, unto Our right deere, and right welbeloved Cousin, and Counsellor, Henry Earle of Northampton, Keeper of Our Privy Seale, and to Our trustie and right welbeloved, Sir Laurence Tanfield Knight, chiefe Baron of Our Exchequer, Sir John Dodridge Knight, one of Our Sergeants at Law, Sir Francis Bacon Knight, Our Sollicitor Generall, Sir Daniel Dun, Sir Walter Cope, Sir Piercivall Willoughby, and Sir John Constable Knights, John Weld Esquire, William Freeman, Ralph Freeman, John Slany, Humfrey Slany, William Turner, Robert Kirkam Gentlemen, John Weld Gentleman, Richard Fishburne, John Browne, Humfrey Spencer, Thomas Juxon, John Stokely, Ellis Crispe, Thomas Alport, Francis Needeham, William Jones, Thomas Langton, Phillip Gifford, John Whittingam, Edward Allen, Richard Bowdler, Thomas Jones, Simon Stone, John Short, John Vigars, John Juxon, Richard

Hobby, Robert Alder, Anthony Haveland, Thomas Aldworth, William Lewis, John Guy, Richard Hallworthy, John Langton, Humfrey Hooke, Phillip Guy, William Meredith, Abram Jenings, and John Dowghtie, their Heires and Assignes. And to such, and so many as they doe, or shall hereafter admit to be joyned with them in forme hereafter in these Presents expressed, whether they goe in their persons to bee planted in the said Plantation, or whether they goe not, but doe adventure their Monyes, Goods, and Chattels, that they shall bee one Body, or Comminaltie perpetuall, and shall have perpetuall succession, and one common Seale to serve for the said Body, and Comminaltie; And that they, and their successours shall be knowne, called, and incorporated by the name of the Treasurer, and the Company of Adventurers, and Planters of the Citie of London, and Bristoll, for the Colony or Plantation in New-found-land, and that they, and their successours shall bee from henceforth for ever inabled, to take, require, and purchase by the name aforesaid (Licence for the same, from Us, Our Heires and Successours first had, and obtained) any manner of Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, Goods, and Chattels, within Our Realme of England, and Dominion of Wales, and that they, and their successours shall bee likewise inabled by the name aforesaid, to plead and be impleaded, before any Our Judges, or Justices in any of Our Courts, and in any Actions and Suits whatsoever. And Wee doe also of Our said speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, for Us, Our Heires, and Successours, give, grant, and confirme unto the said Tresurer and Company, and their Successours, under the reservations, limitations, and declarations hereafter expressed, all that part and portion of the said Countrie, commonly called New found land, which is situate, lying and being to the Southward of the paralell line to be conceived to passe by the Cape or hedland, commonly called or knowne by the name of Bonewist Inclusive, which Cape or hedland is to be Northward of the Bay, commonly called Trinity

[IV. x. 1877.]

Bay, and also which is situate, lying, and being to the Eastward of the Meridian line, to be conceived to passe by the Cape, or headland, commonly called or knowne by the name of Cape Sancta Maria, or Cape Saint Maries Inclusive, which Cape or headland is to be Eastward of the Bay commonly called the Bay of Placentia, together with the Seas and Ilands lying within ten leagues of any part of the Sea coast of the Countrie aforesaid, and also all those Countries, Lands, and Ilands commonly called Newfound land, which are situate betweene forty and six degrees of Northerly latitude, and two and fifty degrees of the like latitude, and also all the Lands, Soyle, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, as well royall Mines of Gold and Silver, as other Mines, Minerals, Pearles, and precious stones, Woods, Quarries, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Hunting, Hawking, Fowling, Commodities, and Hereditaments whatsoever, together with all Prerogatives, Jurisdictions, Royalties, Priviledges, Franchises, and Preheminencies, within any the said Territories, and the precincts thereof whatsoever, and thereto or there abouts, both by Sea and Land, being, or in any sort belonging or appertaining; and which wee by our Letters Patents may or can grant, and in as ample manner and sort, as We or any of Our Noble progenitors have heretofore granted to any Company, body politique or Corporate, or to any Adventurer or Adventurers, Undertaker, or Undertakers of any Discovery, Plantation, or Trafficke, of, in or into any foraine parts whatsoever, and in as large and ample manner, as if the same were herein particularly mentioned and expressed. Neverthelesse Our will and pleasure is, and We doe by these presents expresse and declare, that there be saved, and reserved unto all manner of persons of what Nation soever, and also to all and every Our loving Subjects, which doe at this present, or hereafter shall trade, or voyage to the parts aforesaid for Fishing, &c. April. 27. A. Reg. 8.

Master John Guy his Letter to Master Slany Treasurer, and to the Counsell of the New-found-land Plantation.

RIght worshipfull, it may please you to understand, that it was the tenth day of this moneth of May before the Barke of Northam, called the Consent, arrived here in New-found-land; notwithstanding that a Ship of Bristoll, called the Lionesse, came to this Countrey the second of May in a moneths space: and the Trial of Dartmouth arrived here before in sixteene dayes: By reason of which stay of the aforesaid Barke, nothing could be done to take any of the places desired: all being possessed before. So that the Ship that commeth, whereof as yet there is no newes, is to trust to the place here, which is reserved for her; which I hope will prove a good place. Some yeeres as great a Voyage hath bin made here, as in any place in this Land: God send her hither in safetie. I have not yet seene any of the Countrey to the Southward, or Northward of this Bay of Conception since this spring, because I expected daily the arrivall of the Barke, and thought it not fit to be absent herehence untill she were arrived, and dispatched: but presently upon her departure, no time, God willing shall be lost. The care that was taken to require generally the Fishermen to assist us, and to supply our wants, if any should be, was most joyfull and comfortable to us, which was most willingly accomplished by the most part of those which I have yet seene: yet, God be praised, such was the state of all things with us, as we were in no want of victuals, but had a great remainder, as you shall after understand.

Voyage in eight daies.

Fishermens kinde assistances.

The state of the Autumne and Winter was in these parts of New-found-land after this manner. In both the moneths of October and November, there were scarce six dayes wherin it either freezed or snowed: and that so little, that presently it was thawed and melted with the strength of the Sunne: All the residue of the aforesaid

State of the weather in Autumne and Winter. I have by me a written journall, declaring the winde and weather of every day from 24. November 1610. till the last of Aprill 1611. but thought it would seeme tedious, the substance thereof being here contained.

Moderate Frosts.

two moneths being both warmer and drier then in England. In December we had sometimes faire weather, some times frost and snow, and sometime open weather and raine: for in the latter end it was rainie, and was open weather. All these three moneths the winde was so variable, as it would every fortnight visite all the points of the Compasse.

The most part of January and February unto the middle of March the frost continued: the winde being for the most part Westerly, and now and then Northerly; notwithstanding three or foure times, when the winde was at South, it began to thaw and did raine. That which fell in this season was for the most part Snow, which with the heate of the Sunne would be consumed in the open places within a few dayes. That which abode longest was in February. During this time many dayes the Sun shone warme and bright from morning to night: notwithstanding the length of this frosty weather, small brookes that did run almost in levell with a slow course, were not the whole winter three nights over frozen so thicke, as that the Ice could beare a Dogge to goe over it, which I found by good proofe: for every morning I went to the brooke which runneth by our house to wash. The Snow was never above eighteene inches thicke generally out of the drift; so that the feare of wanting wood or water never tooke hold of us: for albeit we made no provision for them, yet at a minute of an houres warning we were furnished where there were Lakes of fresh water that stood still and did not run, there it remained frozen able to beare a man almost three moneths, and was not dissolved untill the middle of Aprill. But where the ayre had entrance and issue out of them, there was no frost. When the winde in the winter time in England is at the North-east one moneth together, the frost is greater, and the cold more sharpe, then it is here at all. There was no moneth in all the winter that some of our company did not travell in, either by land or by water, and lie abroad and drinke water, in places distant two, [IV. x. 1878.]

three, foure and five leagues from our habitation, and sometimes lay in the woods without fire, and received no harme. When Aprill came our Spring began, and the first that did bud was the small Resen or the Corinth tree. Our Company was not letted in working abroad, & in the woods and open ayre fifteene dayes the whole winter. We never wanted the company of Ravens and small Birds: So that the doubts that have bin made of the extremity of the winter season in these parts of New-found-land are found by our experience causelesse; and that not onely men may safely inhabit here without any neede of Stove, but Navigation may be made to and fro from England to these parts at any time of the yeare.

Spring.

Healthfulnes.

Concerning the healthfulnesse of these Countries, we having bin now more then ten moneths upon this Voyage, of nine and thirty persons, which was all our number which wintered here, there are wanting onely foure; whereof one Thomas Percy Sawyer died the eleventh of December of thought, having slaine a man in Rochester; which was the cause, being unknowne unto mee untill a day before he died, that he came this Voyage. And one other, called John Morris Tyler, miscarried the first of February by reason of a bruse. The third, called Marmaduke Whittington, was never perfectly well after he had the small Poxe, which he brought out of Bristoll with him, who died the fifteenth of February. And the fourth, called William Stone, having at the first onely a stiffenesse in one of his knees, kept his bed ten weekes, and would never stirre his body, which lasinesse brought him to his end, who died the thirteenth of Aprill. Of the rest foure or five have bin sicke, some three moneths, and some foure moneths; who now are better then they were, except one. All of them, if they had had as good will to worke, as they had good stomackes to their victuals, would long since have bin recovered. One Richard Fletcher, that is Master Pilot here and a director of the Fishing, reported unto me, that he was one of the company consisting of forty persons, that went in a drumbler of

Homicide dieth for thought.

A.D. 1610.

Ipswich, called the Amitie, to the North part of Ireland about eleven yeeres agoe from London in the late Queenes service, under the charge of one Captaine Fleming, and continued there the space of two yeares: In which time two and thirty died of the Scurvie, and that onely eight of them returned home, whereof the said Richard Fletcher was one. So that the accident of death or sicknesse of any persons in these our parts of New-found-land is not to argue any unhealthfulnesse of this Country, no more then Ireland is to be discredited by the losse of those two and thirty men: notwithstanding that there were to be had fresh victuals and many other helpes, which this Country as yet hath not, but in good time may have.

Imployment of the Colony.

From the sixt of October untill the sixteenth of May our Company had bin imployed in making of a Store-house to hold our provisions, and a dwelling house for our habitation, which was finished about the first of December; with a square inclosure of one hundred and twenty foot long and nintie foot broad, compassing these two houses, and a worke house to worke dry in to make Boates or any other worke out of the raine: and three peeces of Ordnance are planted there to command the Harboroughs upon a platforme made of great posts, and railes, and great Poles sixteene foot long set upright round about, with two Flankers to scoure the quarters. A Boat about twelve tuns big with a decke is almost finished to saile and row about the headlands: six fishing Boates and Pinnesses: a second saw-pit at the fresh Lake of two miles in length and the sixt part of a mile broad, standing within twelve score of our habitation, to saw the timber to be had out of the fresh Lake, in keeping two paire of Sawyers to saw plankes for the said buildings, in ridding of some grounds to sow Corne and garden seedes: in cutting of wood for the Collier, in coling of it: in working at the Smiths Forge Iron workes for all needfull uses: in costing both by Land and Sea to many places within this Bay of Conception: in making the frame of timber of a farre greater and fairer house, then

that which as yet we dwell in, which is almost finished, and divers other things. We have sowed all sorts of graine this Spring, which prosper well hitherto. Our Goates have lived here all this winter; and there is one lustie Kidde, which was yeaned in the dead of winter. Our Swine prosper. Pidgens and Conies will endure exceeding well. Our Poultrie have not onely laied Egges plentifully, but there are eighteene yong Chickins, that are a weeke old, besides others that are a hatching.

English Corne, Fowle and Cattle prosper there.

The feare of wilde Beasts we have found to be almost needelesse. Our great Ram-Goate was missing fifteene dayes in October, and came home well againe, and is yet well with us. If the industry of men and presence of domesticall Cattle were applied to the good of this Countrey of New-found-land, there would shortly arise just cause of contentment to the inhabitants thereof. Many of our Masters and Sea-faring men seeing our safetie, and hearing what a milde winter we had, and that no Ice had bin seene fleeting in any of the Bayes of this Countrey all this yeare (notwithstanding that then met one hundred and fifty leagues off in the Sea great store of Ilands of Ice) doe begin to be in love with the Countrey, and doe talke of comming to take land here to inhabit: falling in the reckoning aswell of the commoditie that they may make by the banke fishing, as by the husbandry of the Land, besides the ordinary fishing. At the Greene Bay, where some of our Company were a fishing in November, they report there is great store of good grounds without woods, and there is a thousand acres together which they say may be mowed this yere. There is great store of Deere, whereof they saw some divers times, and twice they came within shot of them; and the Greyhound, who is lustie, had a course, but could not get upon them. But neerer unto Cape Razo, Revonse, and Trepasse there is great quantitie of open ground and Stagges. It is most likely that all the Sackes will be departed out of England before the returne of this our Barke, which shall not make any matter; because

Medow.

Deere.

[IV. x. 1879.]

I am now of opinion that nothing should be sent hither before the returne of the Ships from fishing. For as concerning sending of Cattle, it will be best that it be deferred untill the next Spring. And concerning Victuals, in regard of the quantity, we have of it remaining of old, together with that that is come now, as with the dry fish that here we may be stored with, I am in good hope there will not want any to last till this time twelve moneths. And according to the victuals which shall be found at the end of the fishing, the number of persons that shall remaine here all the next winter shall be fitted, that there shall not want: notwithstanding about Alhollantide, or the beginning of December, a Ship may be sent, such a one as our Fleming was with Salt from Rochel; for at any time of the winter Ships may as well goe and come hither, as when they doe, especially before January. This Summer I purpose to see most places betweene Cape Rase, Placentia, and Bona vista, and at the returne of the fishing Ships to entertaine a fit number of men to maintaine here the winter; and to set over them, and to take the care of all things here, with your patience, one Master William Colton, a discreete yong man, and my brother Philip Guy, who have wintered with me, and have promised me to undertake this charge untill my returne the next Spring, or till it shall be otherwise disposed of by you, and then together with such of the company as are willing to goe home, and such others as are not fit longer to be entertained here, I intend to take passage in the fishing Ships, and so returne home: And then betweene that and the Spring to be present, to give you more ample satisfaction in all things, and to take such further resolution, as the importance of the enterprise shall require: wherein you shall finde me alwayes as ready as ever I have bin to proceede and goe forward, God willing. And because at my comming home it will be time enough for mee to lay before you mine opinion touching what is to be undertaken the next yeare, I will forbeare now to write of it; because you

should be the sooner advertised of our welfare: and because such of the Company as are sent home both for their owne good, and that the unprofitable expence of victuals and wages might cease: I have laden little or nothing backe, that the said Company might the better be at ease in the hold. Onely there is sent three hogsheads of Charcoles: where Numero 1°. is, they are of Burch: n°. 2°. is, of Pine and Spruce, n°. 3°. is of Firre, being the lightest wood, yet it maketh good Coles, and is used by our Smith. I send them because you shall see the goodnesse of each kinde of Cole. Also I send you an Hogshead of the Skinnes and Furres of such Beasts as have bin taken here, the particulers whereof appeare in the Bill of lading.

While I was writing I had newes of the Vineyard, the Ship which you send to fishing, to have bin in company with another Ship that is arrived on this side of the Banke, and that the Master intended to goe to Farillon or Fer-land: God send her in safety. So praying God for the prosperity of your Worships, and the whole Company, with hope that his divine Majestie which hath given us so good a beginning, will alwayes blesse our proceedings: my dutie most humbly remembred, I take my leave. Dated in Cupers Cove the sixteenth of May, 1611.

I have also a Journall of the winde and weather from the latter end of August 1611. till June 1612. written by Master William Colston; and delivered to Master John Guy, Governour of the English Colony in Newfoundland, at his returne from England thither, June the seventh 1612. By which it appeareth that the weather was somewhat more intemperate then it had beene the yeare before, but not intolerable, nor perhaps so bad as we have it sometims in England. Their Dogges killed a Wolfe, Otters, Sables, &c. Captaine Easton a Pirat was troublesome to the English, and terrible to the French there: of whom I have added this Letter; for the Diarie of the weather and occurrents each day would be very tedious.

To Master John Slany Treasurer, and others of the Councell, and Company of the New-found-land Plantation, the twenty nine of July 1612.

RIght Worshipfull, by my last of the seventeenth of June, I wrote you of the estate then, of all matters here, by the Holland Ship, which (I hope) is long since safely arrived, together with Master Colston, who hath (I doubt not) made by word of mouth, full relation of all matters. Because the proceedings of one Captaine Peter Easton a Pirate, and his company since, are most fit to be knowne, before I touch our Plantation businesse, you shall understand, what they have bin unto this time: untill the seventeenth of this present, the said Captaine Easton remained in Harbor de Grace, there trimming, and repairing his Shipping, and commanding not onely the Carpenters of each Ship to doe his businesse, but hath taken victuals, munition, and necessaries from every Ship, together with about one hundred men out of the Bay, to man his Ships, being now in number six. He purposed to have before he goeth, as is said, out of the land five hundred men; while he remained there, two severall Companies to the number of about one hundred and eightie persons to each Company, being discontented, stole away from him in a Shallop, and tooke two Ships that were fishing in Trinitie Bay, one belonging to Barnstable, and one other to Plimmouth, and so intend, to begin to be new heads, of that damnable course of life. As I sailed from hence towards Renoose, in a small Barke, I fell into one of their hands: and one of my company was hurt with a Musket. There was one of their crew that wintered with me here the first yeare, by whose meanes, and because I was in the Barke, they made shew, that they were sorry that they had medled with us: And so they departed from us, without comming aboord. That which they sought after was men, to increase their number. Before the said Captaine Eastons departure, he sent three Ships into Trinitie Bay, to store himselfe with victuals, munition, [IV. x. 1880.]

and men, who are said to be worse used, then the Ships here, he taketh much ordnance from them. The said Easton was lately at Saint Jones, and is now, as farre as I can learne, at Feriland, where he taketh his pleasure, and thereabouts the rest are to meete him. It is given out, that we will send one Captaine Harvy in a Ship to Ireland, to understand newes about his pardon, which if he can obtaine in that large and ample manner as he expecteth, then he giveth out, that he will come in: otherwise, it is thought, that he will get Protection of the Duke of Florence, and that in his course herehence, he will hover about the Westwards of the Ilands of the Azores, to see whether he can light upon any of the Plate fleete, or any good rich bootie, before his comming in. Albeit, he hath so prevailed here to the strengthening of himselfe, and incouraging of others to attempt the like hereafter: yet, were there that course taken, as I hope shall be, it is a most easie matter to represse them.

I have also a Diarie of the winter weather, and observations of occurrents from August 1612. till Aprill 1613. December was very full of Snow (for I dare not present the whole) and the fresh-water Lake was frozen over, and the Frost and Snow by the tenth of that moneth, as in any part of the two former places. January was much milder till the foureteenth, from thence it was very frosty. Their Beere was frozen, and they dranke halfe water (an ill remedy to cold.) The Cattell did not well thrive, as comming out of a Countrie not so cold. And therefore Irish Cattell (where the winter is warmer) are not so fit to be transported hither. George Davis died of the Scurvie, and after him Edward Garten, Edward Hartland, John Tucker, and one and twenty were sicke (most of the Scurvie) the whole Colonie was sixtie two. February was much warmer and more temperate. Toby and Grigge died in March, the rest recovered. Turneps being found as good to recover from the Scurvie as the Aneda tree to Jacques Cartiers Company. Nicholas Guies wife was delivered

of a lusty boy March 27. The Easterly windes and some Currents brought Ilands of Ice from the North Seas, which made the weather colder that Spring then in the depth of winter when the same windes blowed, namely East and Northeast, those Ilands being blowne into the Baies, and the windes from them even in Aprill very sharpe; and the Snow, on the tenth of Aprill as thicke as any time that yeare.

In October John Guy with thirteene others in the Indeavour, and five in the Shallop, went upon Discovery. At Mount Eagle Bay they found store of Scurvy-grasse on an Iland. In the South bottome of Trinitie Bay, which they called Savage Harbour, they found Savages houses, no people in them; in one they found a Copper Kettle very bright (you shall have it as one of them writ it in his owne tearmes) a furre Goune of Elke skin, some Seale skins, an old saile and a fishing reele. Order was taken that nothing should be diminished, and because the Savages should know that some had bin there, every thing was removed out of his place, and brought into one of the Cabins, and laid orderly one upon the other, and the Kettle hanged over them, wherein there was put some Bisket, and three or foure Amber Beades. This was done to begin to win them by faire meanes. This time of the yeare they live by hunting; for wee found twelve Elkes hoofes, that were lately killed. A little peece of flesh was brought away, which was found to be a Bever Cod, which is forthcomming to be seene. Their Houses there were nothing but Poles set in round forme meeting all together aloft, which they cover with Deere skins, they are about ten foote broad, and in the middle they make their fire: one of them was covered with a saile, which they had gotten from some Christian.

Copper kettle.

Their houses described.

All things in this manner left, every one returned by the Moone-light, going by the brinke of the Lake unto the enterance of the made way: and a little before they came thither, they passed by a new Savage house almost finished, which was made in a square forme with a small

roofe, and so came to the Barke. They have two kinde
Their Oares. of Oares, one is about foure foot long of one peece of Firre; the other is about ten foot long made of two peeces, one being as long, big, and round as a halfe Pike made of Beech wood, which by likelihood they made of a Biskin Oare, the other is the blade of the Oare, which is let into the end of the long one slit, and whipped very strongly. The short one they use as a Paddle, and the other as an Oare. The thirtieth, without any further businesse with the Savages, we departed thence to the Northerne side of Trinity Bay, and anchored all that night under an Iland. The one and thirtieth, we rowed unto an harbour, which now is called Alhallowes; which hath adjoyning unto it very high land.

November the sixt, two Canoas appeared, and one man alone comming towards us with a Flag in his hand of a Wolfes skin, shaking it and making a loud noise, which we tooke to be for a parley: whereupon a white Flag was put out, and the Barke and Shallop rowed towards them,
Savages. which the Savages did not like of, and so tooke them to their Canoas againe, and were going away: whereupon the Barke wheazed unto them, and flourished the Flag of
[IV. x. truce, and came to anker, which pleased them, and then
1881.] they staied: presently after the Shallop landed Master Whittington with the Flagge of truce, who went towards them. Then they rowed into the shoare with one Canoa, the other standing aloofe off, and landed two men, one of them having the white skin in his hand, and comming towards Master Whittington, the Savage made a loud speech, and shaked the skin, which was answered by Master Whittington in like manner, and as the Savage drew neere, he threw downe the white skin on the ground, the like was done by Master Whittington; whereupon both the Savages passed over a little water streame towards Master Whittington, dancing, leaping, and singing, and comming together, the foremost of them presented unto him a chaine of leather full of small Periwinckle shels, a spitting knife, and a Feather that stacke in his eare:

the other gave him an Arrow without a head; and the former was requited with a linnen Cap, and a hand Towell, who put presently the linnen Cap upon his head: and to the other he gave a Knife: and after hand in hand, they all three did sing and dance: upon this, one of our company called Francis Tipton went ashoare, unto whom one of the Savages came running, and gave him a Chaine, such as is before spoken of, who was gratified by Francis Tipton with a Knife and a small peece of Brasse. Then all foure together danced, laughing and making signes of joy and gladnesse, sometimes striking the brests of our company, and sometimes their owne. When signes were made that they should be willing to suffer two of our Company more to come on shoare, for two of theirs more to be landed, and that Bread and Drinke should be brought ashoare, they made likewise signes that they had in their Canoas meate also to eate: upon this the Shallop rowed aboord, and brought John Guy and Master Teage a shoare, who presented them with a Shirt, two table Napkins, and a Hand-towell, giving them Bread, Butter, and Reasons of the Sunne to eate, and Beere, and Aquavitæ to drinke: and one of them blowing in the Aquavitæ Bottle, that made a sound, which they fell all into a laughing at. After, Master Croote and John Crouther came ashoare, whom they went to salute giving them shell Chaines, who bestowed Gloves upon them. One of the Savages that came last ashoare, came walking with his Oare in his hand, and seemed to have some command over the rest, and behaved himselfe civilly: For when meate was offered him, he drew off his Mitten from his hand before hee would receive it, and gave an Arrow for a present without a head: who was requited with a dozen of Points. After they had all eaten and drunke, one of them went to their Canoa, and brought us Deeres flesh dried in the smoake or winde, and drawing his Knife from out of his necke, hee cut every man a peece, and that savoured very well. At the first meeting, when signes were made of meate to eate, one of the Savages presently ran to the banke

side, and pulled up a roote, and gave it to Master Whittington, which the other Savage perceiving to be durtie tooke it out of his hand, and went to the water to wash it, and after divided it among the foure, it tasted very well: hee that came ashoare with the Oare in his hand, went and tooke the white skin that they hailed us with, and gave it to Master Whittington; and presently after they did take our white Flagge with them in the Canoa, and made signes unto us that we should repaire to our Barke, and so they put off, for it was almost night.

Their fashions.

In the two Canoas there were eight men, if none were women (for commonly in every Canoa there is one woman) they are of a reasonable stature, of an ordinary middle sise, they goe bareheaded, wearing their haire somewhat long, but round: they have no Beards; behinde they have a great locke of haire platted with feathers, like a Hawkes Lure, with a feather in it standing upright by the crowne of the head, and a small locke platted before, a short Gown made of Stags skins, the Furre innermost, that ranne downe to the middle of their legges, with sleeves to the middle of their arme, and a Bever skin about their necke, was all their apparell, save that one of them had shooes and Mittens, so that all went bare-legged, and most bare-foote. They are full eyed, of a blacke colour; the colour of their haire was divers, some blacke, some browne, and some yellow, and their faces something flat and broad, red with Oker, as all their apparell is, and the rest of their body: they are broad brested, and bould, and stand very upright.

Their Canoas.

Their Canoa, are about twenty foote long, and foure foote and a halfe broad in the middle aloft, and for their Keele and timbers, they have thin light peeces of dry Firre, rended as it were lathes: and instead of Boords, they use the outer Burch barke, which is thin, and hath many folds, sowed together with a thred made of a small root quartered. They will carry foure persons well, and weigh not one hundred weight: they are made in forme of a new Moone, stem and sterne alike, and equally distant

from the greatest breadth: from the stem and sterne here riseth a yard high a light thin staffe whipped about with small rootes, which they take hold by to bring the Canoa ashoare, that serveth instead of ropes, and a harbour, for every place is to them a harborough; where they can goe ashoare themselves, they take aland with them their Canoa: and will never put to Sea but in a calme, or very faire weather: in the middle the Canoa is higher a great deale then in the Bowe and quarter, they be all bearing from the Keele to the portlesse not with any circular line but with a right line. They had made a Tilt with a Saile that they got from some Christian, and pitched a dozen poles in the ground neere, on which were hanged divers Furs, and chaines made of shels, which at that instant we fell not in the reckoning to what intent it was done, but after it came to our minde, as hereafter you shall perceive.

The seventh day we spent in washing, and in beginning a house to shelter us when we should come thither hereafter, upon a small Iland of about five acres of ground, which is joyned to the maine with a small Beech: for any bartering with the Savages there cannot be a fitter place. [IV. x. 1882.]

The eighth day it began to freeze, and there was thin Ice over the sound; and because we heard nothing more of the Savages we began to return out of the Sounds, & comming to the place which the Savages had made two dayes before fire in, wee found all things remaining there, as it was when we parted, viz. an old Boat saile, three or foure shell chaines, about twelve Furres, of Beavers most, a Fox skin, a Sable skin, a Bird skin, and an old Mitten, set every one upon a severall pole: whereby we remained satisfied fully, that they were brought thither of purpose to barter with us, and that they would stand to our courtesie to leave for it what wee should thinke good. Because we were not furnished with fit things for to trucke, we tooke onely a Beaver skin, a Sable skin, and a Bird skin, leaving for them a Hatchet, a Knife, and foure Needles threaded. Master Whittington had a paire of

Cizzars which he left there for a small Beavers skin, all the rest we left there untouched, and came that night to the harbour that we were in at our entring, which we call Flag-staffe Harbour, because we found there the Flag-staffe throwne by the Savages away. These Savages by all likelihood were animated to come unto us, by reason that wee tooke nothing from them at Savage Bay, and some of them may be of those which dwell there. For in no other place where we were could we perceive any tokens of any aboade of them, &c.

Chap. VIII.

Captaine Richard Whitbournes Voyages to New-found-land, and observations there, and thereof; taken out of his Printed Booke.

IT is well knowne, that my breeding and course of life hath beene such, as that I have long time set many people on worke, and spent most of my daies in travell, specially in Merchandizing, and Sea-Voyages. I have beene often in France, Spain, Italy, Portugall, Savoy, Denmarke, Norway, Spruceland, the Canaries, and Soris Ilands: and for the New-found-land, it is almost so familiarly knowne to me as my owne Countrey.

In the yeere 1588. I served under the then Lord Admirall, as Captaine in a Ship of my owne set forth at my charge against the Spanish Armado: and after such time as that service was ended, taking my leave of his Honour, I had his favourable Letters to one Sir Robert Dennis, in the Countie of Devon, Knight; whereby there might be some course taken, that the charge as well of my owne Ship, as also of two other, and a Pinnace, with the victuals, and men therein imploied, should not be any way burthensome to me. Wherein there was such order given by the then right Honorable Lords of the privie

Counsell, that the same was well satisfied: which service is to be seene recorded in the Booke at White-Hall.

Now to expresse some of my Voyages to the New-found-land, which make most for the present purpose. My first Voyage thither, was about fortie yeeres since, in a worthie Shippe, of the burthen of three hundred tun, set forth by one Master Cotton of South-hampton: wee were bound to the Grand Bay (which lieth on the North-side of that Land) purposing there to trade then with the Savage people (for whom we carried sundry commodities) and to kill Whales, and to make Traine Oyle, as the Biscaines doe there yeerely in great abundance. But this our intended Voyage was overthrowne, by the indiscretion of our Captaine, and faint-hartednesse of some Gentlemen of our Companie: whereupon we set saile from thence, and bare with Trinity Harbour in New-found-land: where we killed great store of Fish, Deere, Beares, Beavers, Seales, Otters, and such like, with abundance of Sea-fowle; and so returning for England, wee arrived safe at South-hampton.

In a Voyage to that Countrie, about six and thirtie yeeres since, I had then the command of a worthy Ship of two hundred and twenty tun, set forth by one Master Crooke of South-hampton: At that time Sir Humfrey Gilbert, a Devonshire Knight, came thither with two good Ships and a Pinnace, and brought with him a large Patent, from the late most renowned Queene Elizabeth, and in her name tooke possession of that Countrie, in the Harbour of Saint Johns, whereof I was an eye-witnesse. He sailed from thence towards Virginia; and by reason of some unhappy direction in his course, the greatest Ship he had strucke upon Shelves, on the Coast of Canadie, and was there lost, with most part of the company in her: And he himselfe being then in a small Pinnace of twenty tun, in the company of his Vice-Admirall (one Captaine Hayes) returning towards England, in a great storme, was overwhelmed with the Seas, and so perished.

In another Voyage I made thither, about foure and

thirty yeeres past, wherein I had the command of a good Ship, partly mine own: at that time one Sir Bernard Drake of Devonshire, Knight, came thither with a Commission, [IV. x. 1883.] and having divers good Ships under his command, hee there took many Portugall Ships laden with Fish, and brought them into England as Prizes. Omitting to speak of other Voyages, I made thither, during the late Queens raign, I will descend to later times.

In the yeere 1611. being in New-found-land, at which time that famous Arch-Pirate, Peter Easton, came there, and had with him ten saile of good Ships well furnished and very rich, I was kept eleven weekes under his command, and had from him many golden promises, and much wealth offered to be put into my hands, as it is well knowne: I did perswade him much to desist from his evill course; his intreaties then to me, being that I would come for England, to some friends of his, and sollicite them to become humble petitioners to your Majestie for his pardon: but having no warrant to touch such goods, I gave him thankes for his offer; onely I requested him to release a Ship that he had taken upon the Coast of Guinnie, belonging to one Captaine Rashly of Foy in Cornewall; a man whom I knew but onely by report: which he accordingly released. Whereupon I provided men, victuals, and a fraught for the said Ship, and so sent her home to Dartmouth in Devon, though I never had so much as thankes for my kindenesse therein. And so leaving Easton, I came for England, and gave notice of his intention, letting passe my Voyage I intended for Naples, and lost both my labour and charges: for before my arrivall, there was a pardon granted, and sent him from Ireland. But Easton hovering with those ships and riches upon the Coast of Barbary, as he promised, with a longing desire, and full expectation to be called home, lost that hope by a too much delaying of time by him who carried the Pardon. Whereupon he sailed to the Straights of Gibraltar, and was afterwards entertained by the Duke of Savoy, under whom he lived rich.

I was there also in the yeere 1614. when Sir Henry Manwaring was upon that Coast, with five good Ships strongly provided: he caused me to spend much time in his company, and from him I returned into England, although I was bound from thence to Marssellis, to make sale of such goods as I then had, and other imploiments, &c.

In the yeere 1615. I returned againe to New-found-land, carrying with mee a Commission out of the high Court of Admiraltie, under the great Seale thereof, authorising me to empannell Juries, and to make inquirie upon Oath, of sundry abuses and disorders committed amongst Fishermen yeerly upon that Coast, and of the fittest means to redresse the same, with some other points, having a more particular relation to the Office of the Lord Admirall.

What was then there done, by vertue of that Commission, which was wholly executed at my owne charge, hath bin at large by me already certified into the high Court of Admiraltie. Neverthelesse, seeing the same hath beene overslipt ever since, & not produced those good effects which were expected, I will, in some convenient place of this Discourse, set downe a briefe collection of some part of my endevours spent in that service; not doubting but it will be as availeable for the furtherance of our intended designe, as any other reason I shall deliver.

In the yeere 1616. I had a Ship at New-found-land of a hundred tun, which returning laden from thence, being bound for Lisbone, was met with by a French Pirate of Rochell, one Daniel Tibolo, who rifled her, to the overthrow and losse of my Voyage, in more then the summe of 860. pounds, and cruelly handled the Master and the Company that were in her; and although I made good proofe thereof at Lisbone, and represented the same also to this Kingdome, as appertained, after my returne from thence; yet for all this losse, I could never have any recompence.

Shortly after my returne from Lisbone, I was sent for

by a Gentleman, who about a yeere before, by a grant from the Patentees, had undertaken to settle people in New-found-land; he acquainted me with his designes, & after some conference touching the same, we so concluded, that he gave me a conveiance under his hand and seale for the terme of my life, with full power to governe within his circuit upon that Coast; whereupon (being desirous to advance that worke) in Anno 1618. I sailed thither in a Ship of my owne, which was victualled by that Gentleman, my selfe, and some others. We likewise then did set forth another Ship, for a fishing Voyage, which also carried some victuals for those people which had beene formerly sent to inhabit there: but this Ship was intercepted by an English erring Captain (that went forth with Sir Walter Raleigh) who tooke the Master of her, the Boatswaine, & two other of the best men, with much of her victuals (the rest of the Company for feare running into the woods) and so left the Ship as a Prize, whereby our intended Fishing Voyages of both our Ships were overthrown, and the Plantation hindered.

Now seeing it pleased your Majestie many yeers since, to take good notice of the said New-found-land, and granted a Patent for a Plantation there, wherein many Honorable and worthy mens endevours, and great charge therein, have deserved good commendations (as is well known) the which I desire to further with all my best endevours: and not to disgrace or disable the foundation and Projects of others, knowing they have beene greatly hindered by Pirats, and some erring Subjects that have arrived upon that Coast; it being indifferent to me, whether there be a new foundation laid, or whether it be builded upon that which hath already beene begun; so that the Plantation go forward. Yet I may truly say, that hitherto little hath beene performed to any purpose, by such as therein were imploied, worthy the name of a Plantation, or answerable to the expectation and desert of the Undertakers; neither have such good effects followed, as may be expected from a thorow performance hereafter.

[IV. x. 1884.]

And seeing that no man hath yet published any fit motives or inducements, whereby to perswade men to adventure, or plant there; I have presumed plainly to lay downe these following reasons, &c.

A Relation of the New-found-land.

The situation of the Country.

NEw-found-land is an Iland, bordering upon the continent of America, from which it is divided by the Sea: so far distant, as England is from the neerest part of France, & lieth between 46. and 53. deg. North-latitude: It is neere as spacious as Ireland, and lieth neere the course that Ships usually hold in their return from the West Indies, and neere halfe the way between Ireland and Virginia. I shall not much neede to commend the wholsome temperature of that Countrie, seeing the greatest part thereof lieth above 3. degrees neerer to the South, then any part of England doth. And it hath bin well approved by some of our Nation, who have lived there these many yeeres, that even in the winter it is as pleasant and healthfull as England is. And although the example of one Summer be no certain rule for other yeeres; yet thus much also can I truely affirme, that in the yeere 1615. of the many thousands of English, French, Portugals, and others, that were then upon that Coast (amongst whom I sailed to and fro more then one hundred leagues) I neither saw nor heard in all that travell, of any man or boy of either of these Nations, that died there during the whole Voyage; neither was so much as any one of them sicke.

The temperature of the Ayre.

The Inhabitants, with their nature and customes.

The naturall Inhabitants of the Countrie, as they are but few in number, so are they something rude and savage people; having neither knowledge of God, nor living under any kinde of civil government. In their habits, customs & manners, they resemble the Indians of the Continent, from whence (I suppose) they come; they live altogether in the North and West part of the Country, which is seldome frequented by the English: But the French and Biscaines (who resort thither yeerely for the

Whale-fishing, and also for the Cod-fish) report them to be an ingenious and tractable people (being well used) they are ready to assist them with great labour and patience, in the killing, cutting, and boyling of Whales; and making the Traine Oyle, without expectation of other reward, then a little Bread, or some such small hire.

The conveniency of the Bayes in that Countrie.

All along the coast of this Countrie, there are many spacious and excellent Bayes, some of them stretching into the land, one towards another, more then twentie leagues. On the East side of the Land, are the Bayes of Trinitie and Conception, which stretcheth themselves towards the South-west: Tor Bay, and Capelin Bay, lying also on the East, stretch toward the West: the Bayes of Trepassey, S. Mary, Borrell, and Plaisance, on the South part of the Land, extend their armes toward the North: The great Bay of S. Peters, lying on the South-west side of the Land, and East, Southerly from the great River of Canady, being about twentie leagues distant, the same stretcheth toward the East. And here I pray you note, that the bottoms of these Bayes doe meete together within the compasse of a small circuit: by meanes whereof our men passing over land from Bay to Bay, may with much facilitie discover the whole Countrie.

From the Bay of S. Peter round about the West-side of the Land, till you come to the grand Bay, which lieth on the North-side of the Countrie; and so from thence, till you come round, back to Trinitie Bay, are abundance of large and excellent Bayes; which are the lesse knowne, because not frequented by the English, who seldome fish to the Northward of Trinitie Bay.

Commodious Islands & worthy Harbours.

And it is to be observed, that round about the Coast and in the Bayes, there are many small Ilands (none of them further off then a league from the land) both faire and fruitfull: neither doth any one part of the world afford greater store of good Harbours, more free from dangers, or more commodious, then are there built by the admirable workmanship of God; I will onely instance two or three of the chiefest, for some speciall reasons.

Trinitie Harbour lyes fortie nine degrees North-latitude, being very commodiously seated to receive shipping in reasonable weather, both to anchor in, and from thence to saile towards either the East, West, or South: It hath three Armes or Rivers, long and large enough for many hundred sayle of Ships, to moare fast at Anchor neere a mile from the Harbours mouth; close adjoyning to the Rivers side, and within the Harbour is much open land, well stored with Grasse sufficient, Winter and Summer, to maintaine great store of ordinary Cattell, besides Hogges and Goats, if such beasts were carried thither; and it standeth North, most of any Harbour in the Land, where our Nation practiseth Fishing; It is neere unto a great Bay lying on the North-side of it, called the Bay of Flowers, to which place no Ships repaire to fish; partly in regard of sundry Rockes and Ledges lying even with the water, and full of danger: but chiefly (as I conjecture) because the Savage people of that Countrey doe there inhabite: many of them secretly every yeere, come into Trinitie Bay and Harbour, in the night time, purposely to steale Sailes, Lines, Hatchets, Hookes, Knives, and such like. And this Bay is not three English miles over Land from Trinitie Bay in many places; which people, if they might bee reduced to the knowledge of the true Trinitie indeed, no doubt but it would bee a most sweet and acceptable sacrifice to God, an everlasting honour to your Majesty, and the heavenliest blessing to those poore Creatures, who are buried in their own superstitious ignorance. The taske thereof would prove easie, if it were but well begun, and constantly seconded by industrious spirits: and no doubt but God himselfe would set his hand to reare up and advance so noble, so pious, and so Christian a building.

Trinitie affording divers good commodities.

Savages living neer to Trinite Harbour.

[IV. x. 1885.]

The bottome of the Bay of Trinity lieth within foure leagues through the land South-west, Southerly from Trinity, as by experience is found, and it comes neere unto the Bay of Trepassey, and the bottome of some other Bayes, as I have alreadie touched before.

The bottoms of divers Baies meeting neere together.

The Harbour of Trepassey lying commodiously.

Trepassey in like manner is as commodious a Harbour, lying in a more temperate climate, almost in 46. degrees, the like latitude, and is both faire and pleasant, and a wholesome Coast, free from Rockes and Shelves: so that of all other Harbours, it lies the South-most of any Harbour in the Land, and most conveniently to receive our Shipping to and from Virginia, and the Bermuda Ilands; and also any other Shipping that shall passe to and from the River of Canady and the Coast thereof; because they usually passe and returne in the sight of the Land of Trepasse, and also for some other purposes, as shall be partly declared in the following discourse.

The fertiltie of the soyle.

The soile of this Countrie in the Vallies and sides of the Mountaines, is so fruitfull, as that in divers places, there the Summer naturally produceth out of the fruitfull wombe of the earth, without the labour of mans hand, great plentie of greene Pease and Fitches, faire, round, full and wholesome as our Fitches are in England: of which I have there fed on many times: the hawmes of them are good fodder for Cattell and other Beasts in the winter, with the helpe of Hay; of which there may be made great store with little labour in divers places of the Countrie.

Severall sorts of Fruits there growing.

Then have you there faire Strawberries red and white, and as faire Raspasse berrie, and Gooseberries, as there be in England; as also multitudes of Bilberries, which are called by some Whortes, and many other delicate Berries (which I cannot name) in great abundance. There are also many other fruites, as small Peares, sowre Cherries, Filberds, &c. And of these Berries and Fruits the store is there so great, that the Marriners of my Ship and Barkes Companie, have often gathered at once, more then halfe an Hogshead would hold; of which divers times eating their fill, I never heard of any man, whose health was thereby any way impaired.

Herbs and Flowers both pleasant and medicinable.

There are also Herbes for Sallets and Broth; as Parslie, Alexander, Sorrell, &c. And also Flowers, as the red and white Damaske Rose, with other kindes, which are most

beautifull and delightfull, both to the sight and smell. And questionlesse the Countrie is stored with many Physicall herbs and roots, albeit their vertues are not knowne, because not sought after; yet within these few yeeres, many of our Nation finding themselves ill, have bruised some of the herbs and streined some of the juice into Beere, Wine or Aquavitæ; and so by Gods assistance, after a few drinkings, it hath restored them to their former health. The like vertue it hath to cure a wound or any swelling, either by washing the grieved places with some of the herbes boiled, or by applying them so thereunto (plaister-wise) which I have seene by often experience. This being the naturall fruitfulnesse of the earth, producing such varietie of things, fit for foode, without the labour of man: I might in reason hence inferre, that if the same were manured, and husbanded in some places, as our grounds are, it would be apt to beare Corne, and no lesse fertill then the English soile.

Corn growing there, yeelding good increase.

But I neede not confine my selfe to probabilities; seeing our men that have wintred there divers yeeres, did for a triall and experiment thereof sowe some small quantitie of Corne, which I saw growing verie faire; and they found the increase to be great, and the graine very good; and it is well knowne to me, and divers that trade there yeerely, how that Cabbage, Carrets, Turneps, Lettice, and such like, prove well there.

Store of Deere & other Beasts. A rare example of the gentle nature of the Beasts of that Country. M. Guies Mastiffe & Greyhound used a Wolfe there more doggedly, one pulling out the throat, the other the belly.

In divers parts of the Countrie there is great store of Deere, & some Hares, manie Foxes, Squirrels, Bevers, Wolves, and Beares, with other sorts of Beasts, serving as well for necessitie, as for profit and delight. Neither let me seeme ridiculous, to annex a matter of noveltie, rather then weight, to this discourse. In the yeere 1615. it was well knowne to eight and fortie persons of my Companie, and divers other men, that three severall times, the Wolves & Beasts of the Countrie came downe neere them to the Sea-side, where they were labouring about their Fish, howling and making a noise: so that at each time my Mastiffe Dogge went unto them (as the like in

that Countrie hath not been seene) the one began to fawne and play with the other, and so went together into the Woods, and continued with them, everie of these times, nine or ten daies, and did returne unto us without any hurt.

Great store of Land Fowle. The Land Fowle (besides great number of small Birds flying up and downe, some without name, that live by scraping their food from the earth in the hardest winter that is) there are also Hawkes great and small, Partridges, Thrush, and Thrussels abundance, very fat. As also Filladies, Nightingales, and such like, that sing most pleasantly. There are also Birds that live by prey, as *Water Fowle.* Ravens, Gripes, Crowes, &c. For Water-fowle, there is certainly so good, and as much varietie, as in any part of *Penguins.* the world; as Geese, Ducks, Pidgeons, Gulls, Penguins, and many other sorts. These Penguins are as bigge as Geese, and flie not, for they have but a little short wing, and they multiply so infinitely, upon a certaine flat Iland, that men drive them from thence upon a boord into their Boates by hundreds at a time; as if God had made the [IV. x. 1886.] innocencie of so poore a creature to become such an admirable instrument for the sustentation of men. There are also Godwits, Curlewes, and a certaine kinde of Fowle are called Oxen and Kine, with such like; which Fowle doe not onely steed those that trade thither greatly for foode, but also they are a great furthering to divers Ships voyages, because the abundance of them is such, that the Fishermen doe bait their hookes with the quarters of Sea-Fowle on them: and therewith some Ships doe yeerely take a great part of their Fishing Voyages, with some baite, before they can get others.

Fresh water and Springs. The fresh waters and Springs of that Countrie, are many in number, and withall very pleasant, delightfull and wholesome, that no Countrie in the world hath better. And Fewell for fire is so plentifull, that there is never like to be want of that commoditie.

Many sorts of Timber there growing. In like manner there is great abundance of Trees fit to be imploied in other serviceable uses: There are Furre

and Spruce trees, sound, good, and fit to mast Ships withall; and as commodious for boords and buildings as the Spruce and Firre trees of Norway, and out of these came abundance of Turpentine. No Countrie can shew Pine and Birch trees, of such height and greatnesse as those are there: and doubtlesse, if some store of your Majesties subjects doe once settle there to live, and would be industrious to search further, and more throughly into the Countrie, then as yet it hath beene, there might be found many other commodities of good worth. Amongst the which I may not omit, that there is much probabilitie of finding Mines, and making of Iron and Pitch.

Good hope of Mines, and making of Iron and Pitch.

The Rivers also and Harbors are generally stored with delicate Fish, as Salmons, Pearles, Eeles, Herring, Mackerell, Flounders, Launce, Capelin, Cod, and Troutes the fairest, fattest and sweetest, that I have seene in any part of the world. The like for Lobsters, Crabfish, Muskles, Hens, and other varietie of Shel-fish great store. And also observe here, that in these places there is usually store of the spawne and frie of severall sorts of fishes: whereby the Sea-fowle live so fat as they are there in the winter: And likewise the Bevers, Otters, and such like, that seeke their foode in the Ponds, and fresh Rivers. The Seas likewise all along the Coast, doe plentifully abound in other sorts of fish, as Whales, Spanish Mackerell, Dorrell, Pales, Herring, Hogs, Porposes, Seales, and such like royall fish, &c.

Fish in great abundance.

But the chiefe commodity of New-found-land yet knowne, and which is growne to be a setled trade, and that may be much bettered by an orderly Plantation there (if the Traders thither will take some better course, then formerly they have done, as shall be declared) if the Cod-fishing upon that Coast, by which our Nation and many other Countries are enricht. And if I should here set downe a valuation of that Fish, which the French, Biscaines, and Portugals fetch yeerely from this Coast of New-found-land, and the Banke, which lieth within five and twentie leagues from the South-Cape of that Countrie,

Cod-fishing a great hope of benefit therefrom.

The benefit arising to France, Spaine and Italy from fishing upon those coasts.

where the French use to fish Winter and Summer, usually making two Voyages every yeere thither: (To which places, and to the Coast of Canady, which lieth neere unto it, are yeerely sent from those Countries, more then foure hundred saile of Ships:) It would seeme incredible, yea some men are of opinion, that the people of France, Spaine and Italy, could not so well live, if the benefit of the fishing upon this Coast, and your Majesties other Dominions, were taken from them.

But I trust it will be sufficient, that I give an estimate of our owne trading thither, and partly of the wealth and commodities we reape thereby, without any curious search into other mens profits. In the yeere 1615. when I was at New-found-land with the Commission before mentioned, which was an occasion of my taking the more particular observations of that Country, there were then on that Coast, of your Majesties subjects two hundred and fiftie saile of Ships great and small. The burthens and Tunnage of them all, one with another, so neere as I could take notice, allowing every Ship to be at least threescore tun (for as some of them contained lesse, so many of them held more) amounting to more then 15000. tunnes. Now for every threescore tun burthen, according to the usuall manning of Ships in those Voyages, agreeing with the note I then tooke, there are to be set downe twentie men and boyes: by which computation in these two hundred and fiftie saile, there were no lesse then five thousand persons. Now every one of these Ships, so neere as I could guesse, had about 120000. fish, and five tunne of traine Oyle one with another. So that the totall of the Fish in these two hundred and fiftie saile, when it was brought into England, France or Spaine (being sold after the rate of foure pound, for every thousand of fish, sixscore fishes to the hundred, which is not a pennie a fish, and if it yeelde lesse, it was ill sold) amounted in monie to 120000. pound.

250. *saile of Ships lying upon that coast, Anno* 1615.

What the valew of the Fish contained in most Ships did amount unto.

Now, as I have said before, allowing to every Ship of sixtie tun, at least five tun of traine Oyle, the totall

of that ariseth to 1250. tun; each tun, whether it be sold in England, or elsewhere, being under-valued at twelve pound. So as the whole value thereof in monie, amounteth to the sum of 15000. pound, which added to the fish, it will appeare that the totall value of the fish, and Traine Oyle of those 250. saile of Ships that yeere, might yeelde to your Majesties subjects better then the Summe of 135000. pound, omitting to reckon the over-prices which were made and gotten by the sale thereof in forrain Countries, being much more then what is usually made at home, and so the like in other yeeres. And this certainly, in my understanding, is a point worthy of consideration, that so great wealth should yearely be raised, by one sole commodity of that Countrie, yea by one onely sort of fish, and not upon any other trade thither, which must needes yeelde, with the imploiments thereof, great riches to your Majesties Subjects: And this also to be gathered and brought home by the sole labour and industry of men, without exchange or exportation of our Coine, and native commodities, or other adventure (then of necessarie provisions for the fishing) as Salt, Nets, Leads, Hookes, Lines, and the like; and of victuals, as Bread, Beefe, and Porke, in competent measure, according to the number and proportion of men imployed in those Voyages. The converting of these commodities (gotten by fishing) into mony, cannot choose but be a great benefit to all your Majesties Kingdomes in many respects. [IV. x. 1887.]

The relief that the trading there will afford to severall sorts of people.

What the charge in setting forth of these two hundred and fiftie saile might amount unto (being onely for victuals, which our Country yeeldeth) I hold it not fit here to set down, lest I should be accused by some therein. And withall it is to be considered, that the trade thither (as now it is) doth yearely set on worke, and relieve many numbers of people, as Bakers, Brewers, Coopers, Ship-Carpenters, Smiths, Net-makers, Rope-makers, Line-makers, Hooke-makers, Pully-makers, and many other trades, which with their families have their best meanes

of maintenance, from these New-found-land Voyages. Adde unto them the families or servants of divers Owners and Masters of such Ships as goe thither, and Mariners with their families, hereby imploied and maintained,* &c.

**After this the author useth reasons to perswade to a Plantation there; which I have omitted, as busied in history. The Book is common to such as desire to reade it. I have also omitted his Admiralty commission and proceedings.*

Commodities used by the Natives.

THe Natives of the Countrey have great store of red Oaker, which they use to colour their Bodies, Bowes and Arrowes, and Cannowes withall, which Cannowes are built in shape, like the Wherries on the River of Thames; but that they are much longer, made with the rinds of Birch trees, which they sew very artificially and close together, and overlay every seame with Turpentine; and in like manner they sew the rindes of Spruce trees, round and deepe, in proportion like a Brasse Kettle, to boyle their meate in, which hath beene well proved by three Mariners of a Ship, riding at Anchor by me, who being robbed in the night by the Savages, of their apparell and divers provisions, did the next day seeke after them, and came suddenly where they had set up three Tents, and were feasting, having three Canoas by them, and had three Pots made of such rindes of trees, standing each of them on three stones boyling with twelve Fowles in each of them; every Fowle as bigge as a Widgeon, and some so bigge as a Ducke: they had also many such pots so sewed, and fashioned like the leather Buckets that are used for quenching of fire, and those were full of the yolks of Egges, that they had taken and boiled hard, and so dried small, which the Savages used in their broth, as Sugar is used in some meates: they had great store of the Skins of Deere, Beavers, Beares, Seales, Otters, and divers other fine skins which were well dressed; as also great store of severall sorts of flesh dried; and by shooting off a Musket towards them, they all ran away naked without any apparell, but onely their hats on their heads, which were made of Seales skins, in fashion like our hats, sewed handsomely with narrow bands about them, set round with fine white shels, such as are carried from Portugall to Braseile; where they

passed to the Indians as ready monie. All their three Canoas, their Flesh, Skins, Yolks of Egges, Targets, Bowes and Arrows, and much fine Okar, and divers other things, they tooke & brought away, and shared it amongst those three that tooke it, and brought to me the best Canoa, Bowes and Arrowes, and divers of their Skins, and many other things worth the noting: which may seeme to invite us to finde out some other trades with them.

Now also I will not omit to relate something of a strange Creature that I first saw there in the yeere 1610. in a morning early as I was standing by the water side, in the Harbour of Saint Johns, which I espied verie swiftly to come swimming towards me, looking cheerefully, as it had beene a woman, by the Face, Eyes, Nose, Mouth, Chin eares, Necke and Forehead: It seemed to be so beautifull, and in those parts so well proportioned, having round about upon the head, all blew strakes, resembling haire, downe to the Necke (but certainly it was haire) for I beheld it long, and another of my companie also, yet living, that was not then farre from me; and seeing the same comming so swiftly towards mee, I stepped backe, for it was come within the length of a long Pike. Which when this strange Creature saw that I went from it, it presently thereupon dived a little under water, and did swim to the place where before I landed; whereby I beheld the shoulders and backe downe to the middle, to be as square, white and smooth as the backe of a man, and from the middle to the hinder part, pointing in proportion like a broad hooked Arrow; how it was proportioned in the forepart from the necke and shoulders, I know not; but the same came shortly after unto a Boat, wherein one William Hawkridge, then my servant, was, that hath bin since a Captaine in a Ship to the East Indies, and is lately there imploied againe by Sir Thomas Smith, in the like Voyage; and the same Creature did put both his hands upon the side of the Boate, and did strive to come in to him and others then in the said Boate: whereat they were afraid; and one

of them strooke it a full blow on the head; whereat it fell off from them: and afterwards it came to two other Boates in the Harbour; the men in them, for feare fled to land: This (I suppose) was a Mermaide. Now because divers have written much of Mermaides, I have presumed to relate, what is most certaine of such a strange Creature [IV. x. 1888.] that was seene at New-found-land: whether it were a Mermaide or no, I know not; I leave it for others to judge, &c.

R. W.

Chap. IX.

The names of divers honorable persons and others who have undertaken to helpe advance his Majesties Plantation in the New-found-land: written by the said R. W. with extracts of certaine Letters written from thence.

THE right Honorable, Henry Lord Cary, Viscount of Faulke-land, Lord Deputie for the Kingdome of Ireland, hath undertaken to plant a Colonie of his Majesties Subjects in the New-found-land, and is well pleased to entertaine such as are willing to be Adventurers with him therein, upon such Conditions as may appeare in the latter part of this Booke: And in his Lordships absence, hee hath authorized this Agent, Master Leonard Wellsted, by warrant under his hand and Seale, to ratifie whatsoever shall be by him concluded therein. The said Master Wellsteds Chamber is neere one Master Garlands house, at the lower end of Saint Martins lane in the fields.

The right Honorable Sir George Calvert, Knight, one of the principall Secretaries unto his Majestie, hath also undertaken to plant a large Circuit of that Countrie: who hath already sent thither this yeare and the former yeare, a great number of men and women, with all necessarie provisions fit for them; where they live pleasantly,

building of Houses, clensing of Land for Corne, and Meddowes, Cabage, Carrets, Turneps, and such like: as also for Wood and Tobacco, Likewise they are there preparing to make Salt, for the preservation of Fish another yeere, and for divers other services. And his Honor is likewise well pleased to entertaine such as will adventure with him therein, upon very fit conditions.

The Worshipfull John Slany of London Merchant, who is one of the undertakers of the New-found-land Plantation, and is Treasurer unto the Patentees of that Societie, who have maintained a Colonie of his Majesties subjects there above twelve yeeres, and they are willing to entertaine such as will further his Majesties said Plantation, upon fit conditions.

Divers Worshipfull Citizens of the Citie of Bristoll, have undertaken to plant a large Circuit of that Countrie, & they have maintained a Colony of his Majesties subjects there any time these five yeeres, who have builded there many faire Houses, and done many other good services, who live there very pleasantly, and they are well pleased to entertaine upon fit conditions such as will be Adventurers with them.

The Worshipfull William Vaughan of Tarracod, in the Countie of Carmarthen, Doctor of the Civill Law, hath also undertaken to plant a Circuit in the New-found-land; and hath in two severall yeeres sent thither divers men and women, and hee is willing to entertaine such as will be Adventurers with him upon fit conditions.

And there are many other worthy persons Adventurers in the said Plantation, whose names are not herein mentioned. And it is well hoped, that divers others will also put their helping hand to advance the same, when they are given to understand what honour and benefit may accrue thereby. And if his Majesties subjects of this Kingdome may be willing to set forth from everie severall Countrie but one good Ship yearely thither, with people and provisions fit for them, it will be then not onely a great honour and benefit to his Majestie, but

also a great increase of Shipping and Marriners, and the imploying and inriching of many thousands of poore people which now live chargeably to the Parishioners. The which may be easily performed by the able Subjects, to set forth the charge at first, and so everie Parish to recover yearely their equall parts of the benefit which may accrue by the said stocke; and thereby not onely disburden yeerely themselves of some of those which lie chargeable unto them within their severall Parishes; but also yeerely yeelde a great benefit to every severall Countie, though it lie something remote from the Sea-coast, if they imploy a discreete honest man there, who may yearely be accomptable to everie Parish of the charge, and likewise the benefit. The which will not be anie way burdensome or hurtfull unto any: as the following discourse which I have written will plainly informe them.

[IV. x. 1889.]

Extracts of a Letter from Captaine Edward Winne, Governour of the Colony at Ferryland, within the Province of Avalon, in Newfound-Land. unto the Right Honourable Sir George Calvert Knight, his Majesties Principall Secretary; July 28. 1622.

May it please your Honour:

UPon the seventeenth day of May, I received here your Letters of the nineteenth of February, from the hands of Robert Stoning. Upon the six and twentieth of the same, a Ship of Master Jennins, with your people and provision arrived here in safetie: and from the hands of Captaine Powell I received then your Honours Letters of the fourteenth of March. And upon the last of June Master James came hither, from Renouse, and the Saltmaker Master John Hickson; from whose hands I received two Letters more, that by Master James, being of the fourth of May, and the other by Hickson of the tenth of the same, &c.

A.D. 1622.

It may please your Honour, that as soone as I had delivered my last Letters of the fifth of September, I immediately addressed my selfe onely to our businesse: Notwithstanding our diligent labour and extraordinary paines-taking, it was Alhallontide before our first range of building was fitted for an habitable being, &c.

This was the last Letter sent into England the yeere before, 1621.

After Christmasse, wee imployed our selves in the Woods, especially in hard weather, whence wee got home as many Boord-stockes as afforded us two hundred Boords, and about two hundred Timber-trees besides. Wee got home as much or as many Trees, as served us to palizado into the Plantation about foure Acres of ground, for the keeping off of both man and beast, with Post and Rayle seven foot high, sharpened in the top, the Trees being pitched upright and fastened with Spikes and Nayles. Wee got also together as much Fire-wood, as will serve us yet these two moneths. We also fitted much Garden ground for Seed, I meane Barley, Oates, Pease, and Beanes.

For addition of building, we have at this present a Parlour of fourteene foot besides the Chimney, and twelve foot broad, of convenient height, and a lodging Chamber over it; to each a Chimney of Stone work with Staires, and a Staire-case: besides a tenement of two roomes, or a story and a halfe, which serves for a Store-house till wee are otherwise provided. The Forge hath beene finished these five weekes: the Salt-worke is now almost ready. Notwithstanding this great taske for so few hands, we have both Wheat, Barley, Oates, Pease and Beanes about the quantitie of two Acres. Of Garden roome about halfe an Acre: Corne, though late sowne, is now in earing: the Beanes and the goodliest Pease that I ever saw, have flourished in their bloomes this twentie dayes. Wee have a plentifull Kitchin Garden of Lettice, Raddish, Carrets, Coleworts, Turneps, and many other things. Wee have also at this present, a flourishing Meadow, &c.

They were but twelve men all the last Winter, untill the new supply came in the Spring following.

For the Countrey and Clymate: It is better, and not

so cold as England hitherto. My comfort is, that the Lord is with your Honour, and your designes: for we have prospered, to the admiration of all the beholders in what is done. And thus with my humble duty remembred, I rest, &c.

Another letter to Master Secretary Calvert, from Captaine Winne, of the seventeenth of August, 1622.

May it please your Honour;

WE have Wheat, Barley, Oates, and Beanes both eared and codded, and though the late sowing and setting of them might occasion the contrary, yet it ripens now so fast, that it carries the likelihood of an approaching Harvest. Wee have also a plentifull Kitchen-Garden of many things, and so ranke, that I have not seene the like in England. Our Beanes are exceeding good: our Pease shall goe without compare: for they are in some places as high as a man of an extraordinary stature, Raddish as big as mine arme, Lettice, Cale or Cabbage, Turneps, Carrets, and all the rest is of like goodnesse. We have a Meadow of about three Acres: it flourished lately with many cockets of good Hay, and now it is made up for a Winter feeding. Wee hope to bee well fitted with many Acres of Meadow against another yeere: of Pasture-land, wee have already to serve at least three hundred heads of Cattell: and to all this, if it please God, a good quantitie of Seed-ground shall be fitted, and such buildings as wee shall be able to accomplish.

Now in the next place it may please your Honour to understand; That touching this Countrey, the Summer time here is so faire, so warme, and of so good a temperature, that it produceth many Hearbes and Plants very wholsome, medicinable, and delectable, many fruit Trees of sundry kindes, many sorts of Berries wholsome to eate, and in measure most abundant: insomuch as many sorts of Birds and Beasts are relieved with them in time

of Winter, and whereof with further experience I trust to find some for the turne of Dyers. Our high levells of Land are adorned with Woods, both faire and seemely to behold, and greene all Winter. Within Land there are Plaines innumerable, many of them containing many thousand Acres, very pleasant to see to, and well furnished with Ponds, Brookes and Rivers, very plentifull of sundry sorts of Fish: besides store of Deere and other Beasts that yeeld both Food and Furre. Touching the soyle, I find it in many places, of goodnesse farre beyond my expectation: the Earth as good as can be: the Grasse both fat and unctious, and if there were store of Cattle to feed it up, and with good ordering, it would become a most stedfast nourishment: whereof the large breed of Cattell to our Northerne Plantation, have lately given proofes sufficient, though since they have beene most shamefully destroyed. The ayre here is very healthfull, the water both cleer and wholsome, and the Winter short & tolerable continuing onely in January, February and part of March: the day in Winter longer then in England: the nights both silent and comfortable, producing nothing that can be said, either horrid or hideous. Neither was it so cold here the last Winter as in England the yeere before. I remember but three severall dayes of hard weather indeed, and they not extreame neither: for I have knowne greater Frosts, and farre greater Snowes in our owne Countrey. [IV. x. 1890.] *Temperate Winter.*

At the Bristow Plantation, there is as goodly Rye now growing, as can bee in any part of England: they are also well furnished with Swine, and a large breed of Goates, fairer by far then those that were sent over at the first. *Bristow Plantation.*

The Stones, Kernells, and Seeds that Stoning brought mee, were put into the ground presently after his arrivall, the which are already of a prettie growth, though late set; for they came to my hands but upon the seventeenth of May. The Vines that came from Plimouth, doe prosper very well: nay, it is to be assured, that any

thing that growes in England, will grow and prosper very well here: whereby it plainly appeares unto your Honour, what manner of Countrey the same is.

Salt made there.

It may please your Honour to understand, that our Salt-maker hath performed his part with a great deale of sufficiency, by whom I have sent your Honour a Barrell of the best Salt that ever my eyes beheld, who with better setling doth undertake to better this, which hee hath made already. I shall humbly also desire you to remember my last yeeres suit, that our delicate Harbours and Woods may not bee altogether destroyed. For there hath beene rinded this yeere not so few as 50000. Trees, and they heave out ballast into the Harbors, though I looke on. It may likewise please your Honour to give expresse order; First, that such as be sent thither hereafter, may be such men as shall bee of good strength: whereof wee stand in need of sixe Masons, foure Carpenters, two or three good Quarry-men, a Slator or two, a Lyme-burner, and Lyme-stones, a good quantitie of hard Laths; a couple of strong Maids, that (besides other worke) can both Brew and Bake, and to furnish us with Wheeles, Hempe, and Flax, and a convenient number of West-countrey Labourers to fit the ground for the Plough. Secondly, that no more Boyes or Girles be sent hither, I meane, upon your Honors charge, nor any other persons which have not beene brought up to labour: for they are unfit for these affaires. Thirdly, your Honor of necessitie must needes send some Gunnes, and a Gunner with his necessaries: for the place and time doe require it. It is a durable Chattell; they will command the Harbour, and secure all, &c.

Abuses of Fishermen.

A Copie of a Letter from N. H. a Gentleman living at Ferryland in Newfound-Land, to a worthy Friend W. P. of the 18. of August, 1622.

SIR,

MY humble service remembred; accounting my selfe bound unto you in a double bond, namely, love and dutie: I could not be unmindfull to shew the same unto you in these rude lines, thereby to acquaint you with our health, the temperature of the Countrey, and the commodities and blessings therein. And first, for the first: Concerning our health, there is not any man amongst our company, that hath beene sicke scarcely one day since he came, but hath beene able to follow his worke. The Climate differs but little from England, and I my selfe felt lesse cold here this Winter, then I did in England the Winter before by much. The ayre is sweeter: for I never smelt any evill savor in the Countrey, nor saw any venemous creature to hurt mee. Gods blessings upon this Land are manifold: As for wood and water, it passeth England: the one most sweet in growing and burning, the other most pleasant to taste, and good to drinke. For in Whitson-holidayes (I taking with me Master Stoning) did coast some ten miles into the Countrey Westward from our Plantation, to make some discovery of the Countrey, and to kill a Deere; and being some five miles into the Land, where wee lodged that night in a Wood, we found much Champion ground, and good levels of one, two, three or foure hundred Acres together, and at the foot of each Mountaine and small Hill, wee alwayes met with a faire fresh River, or a sweet Brooke of running water, whereof wee freely dranke, and it did quench my thirst as well as any Beere, and much refresh us both, and never offended our stomackes at all. Wee travelled three dayes, but found no Deere save their footings, which came to passe by meanes of a great fire

that had burned the Woods a little before ten miles compasse. It began betweene Formouse and Aquafort: it burned a weeke, and then was quenched by a great raine.

I know not how or what hee was that gave fire to it, but I thinke hee was a servant hired by the Devill to doe that wicked deed, who (I doe not doubt) will pay him for his worke. In the night the Wolves being neere, did something affright us with howlings, but did not hurt us: for wee had Dogs, Fire, and Sword to welcome them. As for the Beares, although there bee many; they beare us no ill will, I thinke, for I have eaten my part of two or three, and taken no hurt by them. Foxes heere are many, and as subtill as a Foxe, yet have wee coozned many of them of their rich coats, which our worthy Governour keepes carefully, as also of Cattagena's and Otters, whose coverings wee preserve as fitting presents for greater persons. The Fowles and Birds of the Land are Partridges, Curlues, Fillidayes, Black-birds, Bulfinches, Larkes, Sparrowes, and such like. Those of the Sea, are Goose, Ducks of foure sorts, Capderace, Teale, Snipes, Penguyns, Murres, Hounds, Sanderlings, Redshanks and others, all very fat, sweete and wholsome. The Fowles of prey, are Tercells, Goshawkes, Falcons, Laners, Sparhawkes, Gripes, Ospreis, Owles great and small, Ravens, Gulls, Pitterils, and some others; and of most of these sorts I have killed many. As for the plentie of Codfish it is well knowne unto you. Salmons, Eeles, Mackarell, Herrings, Lance, Caplin, Dog-fish, Hollibuts, Flowkes, Lobsters, Crabs and Muskles: All and more then all these are here in great plentie, very good and sweet meat. The wild fruit and berries, are small Peares, Cherries, Nuts, Resberries, Strawberries, Barberries, Dewberries, Hurtleberries, with others, all good to eate. Many faire Flowers I have seene here, which I cannot name, although I had learned Gerrards Herball by heart: But wild Roses are here both red and damaske, as fragrant and faire as in England. All our Corne and Seedes have prospered well, and are already growne almost to perfect maturitie, &c.

[IV. x. 1891.]

THE SECOND PART OF THE TENTH BOOKE.

Chap. X.

Divers Warlike Fleets set forth to Sea against the Spaniards, by our English Debora, Queene Elizabeth, of Glorious memory: Her manifold Deliveries and Victories.

LO I the Man, whose Muse mus'd on Plantations,
New England, Virgin, Bermude, Newfound-landed,
Lawrell for olive take, and make Relations
Of Armes, Harmes, Fights, Frights, Flights, Depopulations,
Romes Buls, Spaines broyles, Irelands ire, Traitors branded.
God, Angels, Winds, Seas, Men, Elizas Glory
Conspire; Shee outlives Death, in Heaven, in Story.

HAile greatest of English Names, Glorious Elizabeth! Nor may wee after thy voyage and peregrination out of this World, unto thy true and heavenly home & Country, forget the great Acts of thy earthly Pilgrimage. Thou wast indeed the Mother of English Sea-greatnesse, and didst first by thy Generalls not salute alone, but awe and terrifie the remotest East and West, stretching thy long and strong armes to India, to China, to America, to the Peruvian Seas, to the Californian Coast and New Albions Scepters: Thou mad'st the Northerne Muscovite admire thy Greatnesse: Thou gavest name to the North-west Straits (Meta Incognita) and the Southern Negros,

and Ilands of the South-unknowne-continent which knew not humanitie, were compelled to know Thee; Thou imbracedst the whole earthly Globe in thy Maritime Armes: thou freedst England from Easterlings and Lumbards borrowed legs, and taughtst her not onely to stand and goe without helpe, but become helpe to our friends, and with her own Sea forces to stand against, yea to stand upon, and stampe under feet the proudest of her foes. Thou wast a Mother to thy Neighbours, Scots, French, Dutch; a Mirrour to the remotest of Nations. Great Cumberlands twelve voyages before recited are thine, and the fiery vigor of his Martiall Spirit was kindled at thy bright Lamp, & quickened by the Great Spirit of Elizabeth, Drake, Candish, John and Richard Hawkins, Raleigh, Dudley, Sherley, Preston, Greenvile, Lancaster, Wood, Raimund, Levison, Monson, Winter, Frobisher, Davies, and other the Star-worthies of Englands Sphere, whose Planet-courses we have before related, acknowledge Elizas Orb to be their First and highest Mover. How many Royall Fleets did shee set forth? In the yeeres 85. and 87. those under Sir Francis Drake, before mentioned, as that also in 95. under him and Sir John Hawkins: another Fleet 1590. under Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Martin Frobisher to the Ilands; also 1591. the Iland Fleet under the Lord Thomas Howard, now Earle of Suffolke; that 1592. by Sir John Burroughs and Sir Robert Crosse, when the Madre de Dios was taken, and another Carrike burnt: An. 1594. Shee sent forth a Fleet to Brest, where Frobusher was slaine. Another 1599. under the Lord Thomas Howard. A. 1600. under Sir Richard Levison a Fleet to the Ilands; 1601. another to Ireland. A. 1602. under Sir Richard Levison and Sir William Munson; and another under the same Commanders, 1603. as bequeathing in her fatall extreames, Marine Actions and Glory to her Successour. These and other her Sea-glories I purpose not here to dilate, having already handled some of them; but have singled from the rest the actions of 88. 89. 96. and 97.

The Fleets set forth by queen Elizabeth. *Sup. pag.* 1082. *& f.*

[IV. x. 1892.]

præmising somthing as a Preface of the great deliverances which God vouchsafed that Virgin Queen.

That Church which is mystically called, The woman drunken with the bloud of Saints, had begun to persecute her from her birth, Pope Clement the sixt decreeing against her Mothers marriage, and Pope Paul the third thundring a terrible sentence against her Fathers Soveraigntie. And although King Henry had first enacted against his daughters, and after for them by Parliamentary authoritie, yet when King Edward (which used to call her his sweet sister Temperance) was dead, there wanted not some which extruded both the sisters, and obtruded another succession. Queene Mary dispersing that storme, raised another, wherein shee was exposed to the calumnies of faire-foule-mouthed sycophants, which would have stained the reigne of that Queene, otherwise branded, as short, bloudy, unfortunate, with the slaughter of that Royall Virgin: Story and others saying, That in vaine the boughs of Heresie were lopped off, if the Root were suffered to continue. Long and straight imprisonment shee indured, and was forced by them to Masse, Confession and externall profession of that Romish Catholicisme, which perhaps had not diverted her enemies designe, had not the perversest of her enemies Gardiner beene averted by his owne death; and had not also King Philip with the Spaniards envied to the French so rich an Inheritance, as by Queene Maries death without issue (which could scarsly from her sicke and aged body be expected) was likely to fall upon Queene Mary of Scotland betrothed to the Dolphin of France, whereby the Spanish greatnesse already embroyled enough, was likely to bee overmatched by the French, increased with addition of three mightie Kingdomes. Queene Mary dying, and Cardinall Poole with many Prelates, as it were, attending her exequies with their owne, with generall applause Shee was acknowledged Queen. Her first care was to restore Religion, notwithstanding the dangers thence incompassing her: shee also rejected the mariage

Apoc. 17. 6. *Her persecution from the Papacie from the wombe.*

In queen Maries daies.

with King Philip, whereof hee had treated with her by the Earle of Feria his Embassadour, promising to procure thereunto the Popes dispensation: neither admitted shee the offered match of Charles, sonne to Ferdinand the Emperour; and when Henry the French King by the Guisians was perswaded to challenge England to his sonne and daughter in law, (causing them to use her title Francis & Mary by the Grace of God King and Queene of Scotland, England, and Ireland) and prepared Warres against her, God tooke him out of the world, being slaine at a Tilt sport.

French wrongs.

Q. Elizabeths prosperitie. See of Gods mercies in this & other kinds, the B. of Chichester his Religious Tractate of Thanksgiving. See also Camdens Elizabetha, and others Annales of her Reigne.

The new King and Queene continued their former challenge, Title and Ensignes, which gave no small occasions of those evills, which afterwards involved her, breeding a great disgust betwixt those two greatest Ladies which Christendome had, both Heires to an absolute Sovereigntie. Shee expelled the French out of Scotland, stablished the affaires of Ireland, procured armour and weapons out of Germany, caused much Artillery to bee cast of Brasse and Iron, new Mynes of Brasse being found at Keswicke, and the stone Calaminaris usefull for Brasse-workes found here also: provision for Gunpowder was first at her commandement made here at home; Barwicke fortified, the Navie furnished, the Sea Townes imitating her example and increasing dayly in Navall forces, answered by Martiall Spirits for Land and Sea service. Thus did God blesse her that had glorified him in establishing his Truth, notwithstanding the povertie of the State at her entrance, deepely indetted by her predecessours; and the faint friendship or professed enmitie of Rome and all her disciples. Thus shall it bee done to the Woman God will honour, and more then thus: for what was all the time of her reigne but vicissitudes of Treasons, Warres, and manifold externall and internall broyles? and yet in an admirable working of Divine Grace, when had England so long and flourishing peace at home, or glory and renowme abroad? as if hee which brought light out of darknesse, would permit all such

contrary workings to bee the object of his goodnesse, the fewell and materialls of her greatnesse.

Arthur Poole, the fourth yeere of her reigne abused the greatnesse of his bloud with other conspirators, to the Guisian purposes, but taken and sentenced received not bloudie reward from her mild and mercifull hand. *Arthur Poole of the house of George Duke of Clarence.*

Pope Pius the fift denounceth her excommunicate, discharging her Subjects from loyaltie and alleageance and arming them against her: Ridolfi a Florentine playes the Merchant of Popish wares, the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland take armes, the Duke of Norfolke is entangled, the French and Spaniard are perswaded by the Pope, who promised also if need were, to ingage to this purpose all the goods of the Sea Apostolike, Chalices, Crosses, and holy Vestments: Vitellius is commanded to invade England with an Army from the Low-countries: but God protected Elizabeth, and her Enemies abroad were disappointed, the Traitors at home falling into their owne pit. *Ann.* 1569. *Pius his impious Bull.*

About the same time Edmund and Peter, brethren to the Earle of Ormond were busie in Ireland, to inflame which rebellion Mendoza came out of Spaine, but before it brake forth into any great combustion it was extinct. *Irish action.* [IV. x. 1893.]

Don John of Austria enters next upon the Stage (for I omit Barnes and Muthers, Sir Henry Percie, the B. of Ross his attempts, and other Acts and Arts savouring more of the Foxe then the Lion) and pretended a peace, whiles hee intended the deliverance of the Scottish Queene, and marrying her, to make himselfe King of England and Scotland, by helpe of fugitives and favour of the Pope and Guisians: and in the midst of his warlike preparations suddenly dieth. When Pius his impious curses had thus proved blessings, hee deceaseth, and Gregory his successour in the Papacie, and malice to Queene Elizabeth, the great Founder of Seminaries, gaping for no lesse then a Kingdome to his base sonne James Boncompagno, treateth with the Spaniard, who had swallowed England also in his conceit. Thomas *Don John base son of Charles Emperour.* 1576. *A.* 1572. *Greg.* 13. *confirmeth the sentence against Q. Elis. Stuklys treason.*

Stukley an English fugitive promiseth Ireland to the Popes bastard, who in recompence gives him the titles of Marquesse of Lagen, Earle of Wexford and Caterlough, Vicount of Morough, and Baron of Ross (all places of note in Ireland) and made him Generall of eight hundred Italian Souldiers, the King of Spaine paying their wages. But Sebastian King of Portugall, which should have conducted the Spanish forces against England, being intangled with an African Expedition, procured Stucley to goe thither with him, where both lost their lives. And the Spaniard was now diverted from English designes to those neerer of Portugall, there imploying the forces intended against us.

A. 1578.

1579. 1580. *Sanders Author of the booke De visib. Monarch, & of the forged tale De schismate Anglicano. In which he abuseth the queens Mother with grosse lies, never before seen or dreamt of by the sharpest and spitefullest eyes which Malice could entertain, even then when she was most malicious & most serpent-sighted.*

Doctor Nicolas Sanders playeth the next part, who having written in defence of the Popes visible Monarchy Ecclesiasticall, and belched out the fowlest slanders of Queen Elizabeths parentage that Hell could devise, would make his writings visible by his deeds; and with James Fitz Morice an Irish Traitor, having obtained to be the Popes Nuntio, with a banner consecrated at Rome, and some forces out of Spaine, entreth Ireland, there fortifieth and winneth Desmond to his partie. San Josophus followeth with seven hundred Italians and Spaniards, with Armour for five thousand. Their Fort is taken, Fitz morice first, and after the Earle with many others slaine, Sanders runnes mad, and wandering up and downe in the Woods and Mountaines dieth miserably; the Country is pacified and Elizabeth prevaileth. The Seminaries (Schooles of Treason) were now erected at Rome and Rhemes, to become worse then that Trojan Horse, Cells of desperate Emissaries, incendaries of their owne Countrey: Campion and others suffer, seditious Bookes * are written against the Queene, whereby Somervill was instigated to kill her.

*1583.

*1584. *Mendoza. Throckmorton.*

Mendoza the Spanish Embassadour was commanded to depart out of England, having practised with Throckmorton * and others about an invasion of the Land, and to remove the Queene. About the same time in manner

miraculously, traiterous projects came to light by certaine papers of one Creighton a Scottish Jesuite, who being taken by Dutch Pirates tare them and threw them into the Sea; which would not bee accessary to Jesuiticall plots, but by the helpe of the winde brought them backe to the Ship; which being delivered to Sir William Wade were joyned again, and revealed new plots of the Pope, the Spaniard, and Guisians to invade England: Whereupon an Association was made by many thorow the Kingdome, binding themselves by their hands and seales to prosecute all such to death as should attempt any thing against the life of the Queene. Cardinall Allen for the English Catholikes Ecclesiasticall, Inglefield for the Laikes, the Bishop of Rosse for the Queene of Scots, were said to have agreed to deprive the Queene, and to disinherite King James as a favourer of Heresie, &c.

Creighton papers.

Association.

A. 1585. Doctor Parry (whom Queene Elizabeth had before pardoned his life) being heartned by Ragazonius the Popes Nuntio in France, and absolved in the Popes name by the Cardinall Comensis, undertooke to kill the Queene, being thereunto incouraged by Allens booke, teaching that excommunicated Princes may bee dispoyled of lives and Scepters. His partner reveales him, and his mischiefe lighted on himselfe. Henry Earle of Northumberland (brother of Thomas before executed at Yorke) slew himselfe in the Tower, and the Lord Chancellour three dayes after in the Starre Chamber declared that he had beene committed for traiterous devises against the Queen and State; the particulars whereof were then opened by the Atturney Popham, seeking to set free the Queene of Scots, to destroy the Queene and the Religion, to have dealt with Charles Paget (termed Mope) about these things, with the invasion of England, &c. The Burkes rebellion in Ireland fell out that yeere, and many broyles, which cost three thousand their lives at one time, the title Mac-William in Connagh extinguished, and the insolence of the Ilanders betwixt Scotland and England repressed. The Spaniard arrested the English

Parries treason.

Allens booke.

Earle of Northumberland.

Burks & Ilanders stirs in Ireland.

Ships in his Ports, whence the Expeditions of the Earle of Cumberland, and Sir Francis Drake before mentioned tooke their beginning, and the Warres betwixt the two Kingdomes.

Babington, &c.

A. 1586. that prodigious plot of Savage, Balard, Babington, and the rest of that bloudy crue conspiring to kill the Queene, was detected and the plotters were executed. In 87. the French Embassadour, a Guisian, conferred with Stafford to kill the Queene, making great promises to that purpose. And he and Moody were further treated with on that point by Trappius his Secretary, which by Stafford was revealed and prevented. But whiles all pretended the freeing of the Queen of Scots, by this meanes they shortned her dayes and freed her of her life.

French Embassadours plot with Moody.

[IV. x. 1894.]

The story is knowne, and I shall not need to insist upon these later things, nor on Tyrones Tragicall rebellion, the death of so many thousands English, Irish, Spanish; nor Lopez his plot to poison the Queene, &c. I but propound these things to excite English thankfulnesse to God, and hatred to that Whoore, drunken with bloud, which hath thus enchanted the Kings of the earth; yea like the Legion Devill hath broken all chaines of allegeance, and hath initiated in hellish mysteries naturall sworne subjects to invasion and mutuall massacres; yea to account it tolerable, lawfull, commendable, meritorious, and in ordine ad deum, necessary (ô times! ô monsters!) to kill and murther; and hath made it a compendious way to win the Kingdome of Heaven by killing the Kings of the Earth. And if the bloud of so many Saints from Abel to Zacharias were threatned to fall on Jerusalem, sometimes the holy Citie; what may be said of Rome? whose Temporall Monarchy first founded in the bloud of Rhemus brother of Romulus, proceeded in exiling their owne Kings, and in exterminating worlds of men out of the world (Cæsar alone is said in fiftie battells to have slaine * 1192000. men, besides what was slaine in his Civill Warres) in a world of time together: exceeded

Tyrons treasons.
Lopez.
Luk 8. 29.

Rome, Citie of murthers & haters of kings.

**Plin. l.* 7. *c.* 25.

in the sanctitie of the bloud of so many thousand Saints and Martyrs in ten dismall persecutions, and yet fell short of the pretended Catholike Rome, that mysticall Woman drunken with bloud.

I dare boldly aver, and by History make it good, (yea * in great part to a judicious observer the former parts of this Worke have shewed) that since the Papall challenge of Monarchy over Monarkes by Gregory the seventh, the Devills thousand yeeres of imprisonment being expired, Antichristian Rome hath by Sword, Fire, Warres, Civill and Forraine, and other inhumane, immane, divellish furies procured the shedding of more humane bloud, then ever Heathen Rome in farre longer time had shed to erect their Heathenish Empire, from the dayes of Romulus which founded the Citie, to Augustus which grounded and stablished the Empire, and Tiberius under whom Christ was crucified: Yea if you adde the persecutions of the succeeding Emperors till Julian the Apostata; yet have the later Antichristian exceeded in numbers, as much as the executions of Warres are usually beyond all comparison of the Judiciall and Legall. I adde, that as the Ethnike Romans spilt none (except in persecutions) but Ethnike bloud: so the pretended Christian Romists (except in the Indies and the Holy Land Wars) shed none in this account but Christian. This may seem a prodigal speech & prodigious paradox, to those which know not the millions which perished in the Holy Land Wars, set & kept on foot about 200. yeers together by Papall ambition; so many hundreths of thousands which perished in the same times, by open warres made by the Popes Crusados against the Albigenses, Waldenses, and what other names it pleased them to give to better men then themselves, in almost eightie yeeres continued warres: So many Civill Warres in Germany, the subjects and competitors armed by Crusados against the Emperours till that Eagle was plucked; where one Henry whom Hildebrand first deposed, fought sixtie battells: In England, France, Italy, and other parts, in

Present Rome greater man-slaier & Saint-slaier then the Ethnike.
**See to.* 1. *l.* 8. *c.* 1. 2. 3. 4. & 6. *l.* 2. *c.* 1. *to.* 2. *l.* 8. *c.* 4. & *c.*

the daies of King John, Fredericke the second, Conrade, Memfred, Phillip, and others: and after that, the long Bohemian broiles drenched in bloud after Husses fire: and lately so innumerable millions (pauperis est numerare) in America and the Ilands which these bookes plainly evince to have beene written in bloud by Roman authoritie and pretence; not to make mention of the Philippinas, the East Indies, the Wars in Sicile and Naples; and the Greeke Empire first weakned, and after by Roman ambition lost: how many hundreth thousands hath France lost of Christians within these last hundreth yeeres? how many more have taken their fatall farewells in the Belgian quarrell? How doe those Low-countries and Germany still flow in bloud? That I speake not of our England and Ireland? But I hate the thoughts of those things, and therefore come to the 88. businesse, that also set on worke from Rome, the widest and openest passage from hell for his ingresse and egresse, that was a Murtherer from the beginning, and in the last ages turning himselfe into an Angell of light, hath there established his principall Vicar under pretended titles and seemings of Christ and Christianitie. Yea this is also remarkable that in the treasons against Queene Elizabeth, and in those against our present Sovereigne King James (whom God long preserve) by Watson, Clerke, Cobham, &c. at first, and in the Master and Monster-peece (which was now ready to breake forth with violence and virulence from Hell, and to blow up all other Treasons) that of the Gun-powder Traitors; still the busiest part of the Tragedie is committed to some Romish Priest or Jesuite, who should fit and frame the resolute dissolutenesse of wild spirits to the execution of it or themselves. The Master Workman (I say not Beelzebub) is the Pope, as appeareth in those before mentioned, and in this of 88. whose Bull declaratory against that Worthy of women followeth, as the contents thereof are delivered by Meteranus, to whose labours in this Story wee are principally indetted. It was to be published in the Popes name

Priests, agents in every treason.

The Pope Master Workman.

A.D. 1588.

by Cardinall Allen after the Navie had arrived in England, to command the English to yeeld their obedience to the Duke of Parma. From the Pope therefore wee will begin our 88 Story, touching the preparation and successe of that Armada sirnamed invincible.

Allen or Alan was by Spanish procurement made Cardinall for this purpose; and to this purpose had written a violent booke which heartned Parry to undertake to kill the Queen. He and Bristow and Martin were Authors of the Rhemish Translation and Notes of the N.T. Papall pretended causes of depriving the Queene. Fugitives impotent Zeale.

Chap. XI.

Octagesimus Octavus mirabilis Annus.

The Popes Bull, the King of Spaines preparations, the Duke of Medinas Expedition, the Duke of Parmas Forces, for the invasion of England: divers Sea-fights twixt the English and Spanish Fleets, the Sea flight of the Spanish, and miserable disasters in their returne. Their lies. The Queens Religious Triumph.

[IV. x. 1895.]

SIxtus Quintus, by divine providence, universall Pastor of the Flock of Christ, to whom by continued and lawfull succession, the administration and charge of the Catholike Church pertaineth; taking into consideration the miseries and calamities whereinto the famous Kingdomes of England and Ireland had falne, which in times past were commended so much for Vertues, Religion, and Christian Pietie and Obedience, and now by the impious and unjust Empire of Elizabeth pretended Queene, and a few adhering to her, not onely to have come to a dissolute estate and dangerous to it selfe, but also as infected and venemous members are wont to cause infection and disease to the whole body of Christians: and wanting there the due remedies which elswhere by help of Christian Princes he useth, to prevent abuses & to maintaine Ecclesiasticall discipline: Forasmuch as Henry the Eight, late King of England, a Rebell and forsaker of the Sea Apostolike, separated himselfe and his from the communion of Christians by force, and Elizabeth the present Usurper

persevereth therein, not without great commotion and danger of the Neighbour Regions, shewing her selfe obstinate and impenitent, so that there is no hope that those Kingdomes may at any time be reformed and reduced to the exercise of Christian Religion, true peace and quietnesse, except shee be deprived of the administration of the Kingdome.

Spanish arguments to requite good with evill.

Therefore our most holy Father desiring (as his Office requireth) to provide for this evill, with present and strong remedies inspired to him from God, to the health of the universall Church, incited as well by his owne, as his predecessors affection and zeale, alway borne toward England; and moved by the continuall sollicitation, vehement and importunate exhortation of very many, and those principall men of the said Nation; hee hath used great diligence with divers Princes, and especially with the Mightie and Catholike King of Spaine, imploring his aide hereunto, by the reverence which hee beareth the Roman Sea, by the old friendship and consanguinitie which his Family hath had with the Kings of England, by his singular charitie and benevolence formerly shewed to the Catholikes of that Countrey; for obtaining by that meanes his desire of peace and quietnesse in his Neighbour Provinces, for his studie and readinesse towards the propagation of Catholike Religion, and lastly for the furtherance of the common good of Europe; hath besought him to confer all the Forces which God almightie hath given him hereunto, that that Woman may bee dejected from her degree, and that the evill men and hurtfull to mankind, which adhere to her may be punished, and that Kingdome may bee reduced to certaine reformation and quietnesse, from which great good and many commodities to the Common-wealth might be to be expected. Wherefore that hee might make knowne to all the world the Justice of this Cause, and the Subjects also of that Kingdome might fully be satisfied, likewise that hee might denounce the just judgement of God against her; It hath seemed meet to his Holinesse, with

the Declaratory Sentence made against this Woman, to shew the cause also why he had so proceeded against her.

First, because shee is an Heretike [a] and Schismatike [b] and therefore excommunicated of two Popes, his predecessors, contumacious, disobedient to God and the supreme [c] Sea: Also shee tooke to her selfe with presumptious usurpation supreme Authoritie and Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction over the Soules [d] of Men, against Nature, Reason, against all Lawes Divine and Humane; and that as well by vertue of the sentences given by Clement the Seventh, and Paul the Third, as of the publike declaration of King Henry her Father. Thirdly, because shee usurped the Kingdome against all right, not onely in regard of the impediments aforesaid, but also against the old Contracts in times past made betwixt the Sea Apostolike and the Kingdome of England in the time of Henry the Second, when the said Kingdome reconciled it selfe to the Roman Sea, for the murther of Saint Thomas of Canturbury. At which time it was agreed [e], that none should bee taken for lawfull King of England without consent of the Great Bishop; which convention or contract was after renewed by King John, and confirmed by Oath. Which thing was most profitable, and so established by the request of the Nobilitie and People.

For many and grievous injuries [f], extorsions, and other wrongs perpetrated by her and by others, through her permission, against the distressed innocent Subjects of both Kingdomes.

For seditions and rebellions betwixt the Inhabitants of neighbour Provinces, raised against their lawful Magis-

[a] *Act.* 24. 14. *By the way which they cal heresie, so worship wee the God of our fathers, beleeving all things written in the Law, &c.*

[b] *They make the schisme or rent, which unjustly excommunicate and cut off from the body of Christ, as Jo.* 9. *Sinite illos, cæci sunt, &c.*

[c] *Hinc ille lacrymæ.*

[d] *With lie and all: shee rejected the title of supreme head, to avoid from appearance of this evill, and declared herselfe to challenge, onely, power over all her subjects, to command them to do their duties & execute their offices, excluding forrain jurisdiction: as David, Salomon, Constantine, & her predecessors had done, exercising power over Priests, not in the Priesthood.*

[e] *O impudency? What King of England ever sought the Popes confirmation: King John by Papall Arts made himselfe tributary, but without and against his subjects consent, as Ma. Paris & R. Wendover then living testifie at large: that writing being burnt and disclaimed; the subjects also rebelling against the Author thereof.*

[f] *Quia totum telum non recepisset: Shee wronged them much in saving her throat from their blades.*

trate and [g] naturall Prince, by which shee seduced innumerable Soules and many potent Regions.

For entertainment [h] given to Fugitive Heretikes, and Rebells, wicked and publike malefactors, and undertaking their protection, to the great losse and detriment of Christian Regions.

Also for sending to and procuring the Turke, that our mightie [i] and cruell Enemy, to invade Christendome and disturbe [k] the setled Peace.

For the horrible and [l] long persecution of the Saints of God, for holy [m] B B. ill handled, spoyled, imprisoned, and divers torments and miserable tortures and slaughters done to the members of the holy and Catholike Church.

For the inhumane and unjust inprisonment and crueltie, lately exercised against the most gracious Princesse, Mary Queene of Scotland, which had fled into England, having first [n] received promise of securitie, protection, and aide.

For abolishing the true Catholike Religion [o], the profanation of holy Sacraments, also of Monasteries [p], Temples, Persons consecrated to the memory of Saints, and all other things which make or may help to eternall life.

And concerning Secular affaires [q] and the State politike, for that the ancient Nobilitie being rejected and excluded, shee hath promoted obscure and unworthy men to Civill and Ecclesiasticall dignities; and by this meanes hath made a sale of Lawes and Rights; and lastly for the

[g] *Unnaturall Prince, which* [IV. x. 1896.] *not content with inheritance, would have made conquest of the Provinces, so to swallow all their priviledges, and subject them to forraine inquisition and rule: so buying with* 100. *millions of treasure and the lives of* 400000. *Christians, the losse of those which would have bought and sought to be his subjects, if hee would have kept the oathes which the Pope dispensed with, twice made to them; and ruled as his predecessors had done.* [h] *The Pope confesseth hee gave entertainment to the Queenes Fugitives, and for their sakes thus roared. The Spaniard entertained her Fugitives and she might not admit those whom he would not suffer to obey him as his Ancestors had done.* [i] *A mighty & cruell forgery of his Holiness.* [k] *Who is here the invader & disturber of peace? And whereto tends all this but to disanull peace?* [l] *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?* [m] *Boner, &c. was ill handled because they were not so handled as they had handled Cranmer, Ridley, &c.* [n] *See M. Camdens History, A.* 1568. *& seq. where those occurrents are otherwise related.* [o] *Ap.* 2. 2. *Thou hast tried them that say they are Apostles and are not and hast found them liers.* [p] *How much more did Hezekiah & Josias in demolishing the meanes of superstition, how holy soever at their first institution? So the brasen Serpent, a Divine type of Christ crucified was demolished, &c.* [q] *Vis dicam quid sis? magnus es ardelio. Pitie she promoted not Cardinal Allen or Father Parsons, the one to Lambeth, the other to Tib. I should say the Broad Seale.*

absolute tyranny[r] which shee usurpeth and continually exerciseth, to the great contempt of God, oppression of the miserable[s] People, the losse of Soules, and destruction of Countries.

Wherefore seeing those offences are of that nature and moment, that some make her uncapable of the kingdome, others make her unworthy of life, his Holinesse by the power of Almightie God, and of Apostolicall authoritie committed to him, doth renew the sentence of his predecessors, Pius the Fifth, and Gregory[t] the Thirteenth, whereby the said Elizabeth is excommunicated and deprived of her Kingdome. And now by these present Letters, the same Elizabeth againe excommunicateth and depriveth of all Royall Dignitie, Titles, Rights and pretences to the said Kingdomes of England and Ireland; declaring her illegitimate, and a true Usurper of the Kingdomes; and absolving the Subjects of that Land, and all others from all dutie[u] of Dominion, Fidelitie and Obedience, and from the Oath[x] given to her or to any of her substitutes.

Further, expresly commanding under paine of the anger[y] of God Almightie, that none of whatsoever condition or degree, after hee shall have notice hereof; doe presume to yeeld her any obedience, favour, or ayde whatsoever: but that all may imploy all their power and indevour, that due punishment may be taken of her; that shee at length, which hath separated her selfe by many wayes from God and his Church, seeing her selfe forsaken and destitute of all worldly refuge, may be brought to acknowledge her fault, and to subject her selfe to the judgement of the most High, with all submission.

And therefore commands all and every the Inhabitants of the said Kingdomes, and all others, that with all their power they execute the premisses, withdrawing all helpe publike and private from the said person and her adherents: and that as soone as they shall be hereof certified, they joyne themselves to the Catholike Armie, led by the Illustrious and victorious Prince Alexander

[r] *What a faire deliverance from this tyranny should we have had by the Spanish Whips and Knives?*

[s] *We had indeed bin miserable, had we falne into the hands of such Physicians.*

[t] *The holinesse of three Popes curse her, and the holy and blessed Trinitie bless her.*

[u] *Dutie and faith acknowledged and yet denied! Is not this babbling?*

[x] *But God will not hold him guiltlesse that taketh his name in vaine.*

[y] *Yet this is the first commandment of promise; so contrary are Gods blessing and the Popes cursing, Eph. 6. 2.*

Farnesius, Duke of Parma, and Deputie of the Catholike King; with all the forces they can gather, that they may assist the said deprivation and punishment of the parties aforesaid, and the restitution of the holy Catholike Religion, declaring that all which shall show themselves disobedient [z] to this Mandate, shall not escape deserved punishments.

Be it knowne further to all men, that it is not the purpose of his Holinesse, the Catholike King, or the said Dukes Highnesse in this Expedition, to oppresse the said Kingdomes, or thereof to make conquest, or to alter the Lawes, Priviledges or Customes thereof, or to deprive any man there, of his libertie or life (except the rebellious and contumacious) or to bring any change [a], besides that which shall be judged fit by common voyces of his Holinesse, the Catholike Majesty and the States of that Kingdome, to the restoring and continuing of the Catholike Religion, and the punishment of that Usurper and her adherents: Certifying and securing all, that all controversies which may happen by the deprivation of that Woman (whether they shall arise about private mens affaires, or about the Royall Succession, or betwixt the Clergy and Laity, or whatsoever other discords) they shall be all compounded and decided according to the Lawes, Justice, and Christian equitie, without any injury or damage. Neither shall it onely bee provided conveniently that the Catholikes which have suffered so many evills be not spoyled, but favour is also granted to all others, which being penitent shall submit themselves unto the Chiefe Commander of the Army. And whereas by due information made, wee are given to understand that there are many innocents, which through ignorance of Christian Faith having falne, have hitherto erred onely of ignorance,

[z] *A false Prophet! for neither did England ever prosper more, or feare the Pope or Spaniard lesse, or so much love or honour Her or any of her progenitors, as Her Majesty after this: such a blessed harvest God raised out of this Cursers cursed seed.*

[a] *The Duke of Medina Generall of this Fleet was of another mind, who being told of Catholikes in England which would take his part, &c. answered, That he must make way howsoever for his Master. And were not* [IV. x. 1897.] *Count Egmond and Count Horne and others, Papists, which D'Alva executed? There were* 700. *English Fugitives in Parmas Army for this invasion, Qui omnium despicatissime habiti, the baggage of the Armies estimate: nor was respect given to Stanly and Westmerland, Traitors of note, Sed pro impietate in Patriam omni aditu prohibiti & tanquam pessima auspicia merito non sine detestatione rejecti, saith Camden. They were excluded all Councells of Warre; for men use to love the Treason and hate the Traytor.*

being neverthelesse reckoned amongst Heretikes: wee purpose not at all to punish such persons, but to indure patiently, till by conference of learned men, and good sound counsells, they may be better instructed touching the truth; and not shew themselves obstinate, but desirous to prevent the effusion of Christian bloud, and destruction of Countries which may be expected by the resistance of some wicked principall adversaries.

Therefore by these Presents wee declare, that it is not onely lawfull for all, as well publike as private persons, besides those which have undertaken this Expedition, to lay hand on the said Usurper, and other her adherents, to take them and deliver them to the Catholike side; but also this deed shall bee esteemed of us for a faithfull and singular service, and shall be recompenced with very great rewards, according to the qualitie of the persons taken or betrayed. All others also which heretofore have given ayde, or shall hereafter assist to the punishment of the evill, and the restitution of Catholike Religion in those Kingdomes, shall receive their reward and recompence, increased by us in Dignities and Honours, as their good and faithfull service to the Common-wealth shall desire. Wherein as much as may be, care shall be had that reckoning and respect be holdern of the antient and honourable Houses and Stockes of the said Kingdomes. Lastly, free accesse and safe conduct by these Presents is granted to all men, which will joyne themselves to the Catholike Armie, and will bring thereto provision, furniture of warre, and other necessaries; full and liberall satisfaction is promised for all things, which for the service and commoditie of the said Armie shall be supplied by them. And all are admonished and plainly commanded, that they doe their utmost indevour and diligence, that by their meanes cause may bee removed of using force in punishing those which shall neglect this Precept.

Math. 26. 54. *Judas Iscariot went to the chiefe Priests: here the chiefe Priest prevents the Traitor, & covenants for more then* 30. *pieces, before he be sollicited with what will you give me? the Jewish Priests were dul, compared to these Romish.*

Furthermore the * Holy Father, in his fatherly love and singular affection to this Expedition, out of the

**Ho-ly Fa! there!*

**Pro thesauro carbones. The Pope grants that liberally which is all-ly.*

Spirituall Treasure * of the holy Church (which is committed to his custody and dispensation) doth liberally grant plenary Indulgences and remission of Sins, to all those which shall bring any aid or favour to the deprivation and punishing of the said persons, and the reformation of both Kingdomes: to wit, after due penance, Contrition and Confession had according to the Lawes of God and Men, and the received custome amongst Christians.

NOw that all might bee carried more closely, and that this Expedition might seeme made against the Low-countries, rather then the English, a solemne meeting was appointed first neer Ostend, after at Bronckburg in Flanders for a treaty of peace with the Queene of England. Henry Earle of Derby, the Lord Cobham, Sir James Croft, D. Dale, D. Rogers were sent. Richardot plainly said that he knew not what might be put in practise in the meane time against England. But the Prince and he being demanded if their were any enterprise of invading England, they utterly denied any thoughts therof. Count Aremberg, Campignie, Richardot, Maes & Garnier were the Princes Delegates, and professed that they had sufficient Commission for treaty of peace First a truce was propounded by the English, and by them denied. Then the English required that the ancient leagues betwixt the Kings of England and the House of Burgundy might be renewed and confirmed, that the Low-countrimen might injoy their priviledges and libertie of conscience, that Spaniards and forraine forces might be removed, that neither they nor their neighbours should have cause to feare; and then the Queene would redeliver her foure Cautionary Townes. They whiled them with such answere as suted to their purposes, and long adoe was made in weaving and unweaving Penelopes web, till the Spanish Armada was upon the Coast, and the very Ordnance proclaimed in their eares a surcease from further illusions. Then did Parma dismisse them, pulled off his Visor, uncasing the Fox, and truly appearing in the

Lions skin. But let us now come to take view of this Fleet, and the preparations made for it.

The King of Spaine having with small fruit, above twenty yeeres together waged warre against the Netherlands, after deliberation with his Counsellours thereabout, thought it most convenient to assault them once again by Sea, which had bin attempted sundry times heretofore, but not with forces sufficient. Unto the which expedition it stood him now in hand to joine great puissance, as having the English people his professed enemies; whose Iland is so situate, that it may either greatly helpe or hinder all such as saile into those parts. For which cause he thought good first of all to invade England, being perswaded by his Secretary Escovedo, and by divers other well experienced Spaniards and Dutchmen, and by many English fugitives, that the conquest of that Iland was lesse difficult, then the conquest of Holland and Zealand. Moreover the Spaniards were of opinion, that it would be farre more behoovefull for their King to conquer England and the Low countries all at once, then to bee constrained continually to maintaine a warlike Navie to defend his East and West Indie Fleets, from the English Drake, and from such like valiant enemies.

And for the same purpose the King Catholike, had given commandement long before in Italy & Spaine, that a great quantitie of timber should be felled for the building of Ships; and had besides made great preparation of things and furniture requisite for such an expedition, as namely in sounding of brasen Ordnance, in storing up of corn and victuals, in training of men to use warlike weapons, in levying and mustering of Souldiers: insomuch that about the beginning of the yeer 1588. he had finished such a mightie Navie, & brought it into Lisbon Haven, as never the like had before that time sailed upon the Ocean Sea.

A very large and particular description of this Navie was put in print and published by the Spaniards, the translated copy whereof, in perpetuam rei memoriam, to [IV. x. 1898.]

incite English thankfulnesse, I have here inserted, but abridged.

Squadron of the Galeons of Portugall.

THe Galeon S. Martin, Captain Generall of the Armie, of 1000. tuns, carrieth 177. Mariners, 300. Souldiers, chosen men, 50. Peeces of Canon, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Cord, and all that which is needfull.

The Galeon S. John, Admirall Generall, of 1050. tuns, carrieth 170. Mariners, 231. Souldiers, 50. Peeces of Canons, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Cords, and that which is necessary.

The Galeon of S. Marke is of 792. tuns, and carrieth 292. Souldiers, 117. Mariners, and Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, as much as is needfull.

The Galeon S. Philip, of 800. tuns, hath 415. Souldiers, 117. Mariners, 40. Peeces of Artillery, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that is needfull.

The Galeon S. Lewes 830. tuns, hath 376. men of Warre, and 116. Mariners, 40. Peeces of Ordnance, and Bullets, Match, Powder, and other things as much as is needfull.

The Galeon of S. Mathew 750. tuns, 177. men of Warre, 50. Mariners, 40. great Peeces, and Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, and all other things as much as is needfull.

The Galeon S. James 520. tunnes, 300. Souldiers, 100. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which is needfull.

The Galeon of Florence, of 961. tuns, 300. Souldiers, 100. Mariners, 52. Peeces of Ordnance, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the rest as much as is needfull.

The Galeon S. Christopher, 352. tuns, 300. men of Warre, 90. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Lead, Powder, Match, and all that which they need.

The Galeon S. Bernard, 352. tuns, hath 280. Souldiers, 100. Mariners, 30. Canons, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and other necessary things as much as they need.

The Zabra Augusta, of 166. tuns, carrieth 55. Souldiers, 55. Mariners, 13. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and other necessary things as much as they need.

The Zabra Julia, of 166. tuns, 60. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, with Ordnance, Bullets, Powder, and other necessaries.

There is in this Squadron, 12. Vessels, 10. of them Galeons, and two Zabres, which are of 7737. tuns, & there are imbarked in them 3330. Souldiers footmen, & 1230. mariners, which are in sum 4624. men, & they carry 350. great Peeces, and all that which is necessary to the rest, as bullets, powder, match, lead, &c.

The Armie of Biscay, of which is Captain Generall Jan Martines of Ricalda.

THe Ship S. Angell, the Captaine is of 768. tuns, and hath 323. men of War, 114. Mariners, 30. Canons, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which is needfull. The Gangrin, Admirall of 1160. tuns, carrieth 300. Souldiers, 100. Mariners, 36. great Peeces of Canons, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all that which is needfull. The Vessell of S. James, 660. tuns, hath 250. Souldiers, 102. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and other necessary provisions. The Conception of Zubelzu, 468. tuns, hath 100. men of War, and 70. Mariners, 20. great Canons, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all other necessary things. The Conception de Juanes del Cavo, 418. tuns, hath 164. men of Warre, 70. Mariners, 24. great Peeces, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which they need. The Magdalene of John Frauncis of Ayala, 330. tuns, carrieth 200. Souldiers, 70. Mariners, 22. great Peeces, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and that which is necessary to the rest. The Ship S. John, 350. tuns, hath 130. men of Warre, and 80. Mariners, and 24. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which they need for the rest. The Mary of 165. tuns, carrieth 180. Souldiers, and 100. Mariners, 24. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and other necessary things.

The Manuela of 520. tuns, hath 130. Souldiers, 54. Mariners, 16. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match and the rest of their fraught. The Ship of S. Mary of Monte-major, of 707. tuns, 220. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, and Match, and other provisions. The Pinnace, called the Marie of Aguiare, of 70. tuns, hath 30. men of War, 23. Mariners, 10. Peeces of Canon, Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, and other necessary things. The Pinnace, called Isabella, of tuns, hath 30. Souldiers, 23. Mariners, 12. Canons, Bullets, and other necessary things. The Pinnace of Michel Suso, of 96. tuns, 30. Souldiers, 24. Mariners, 12. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all other necessary things. The Pinnace of S. Steven, of 78. tuns, hath 30. men of Warre, 26. Mariners, 12. Peeces of Canon, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all other necessary things of provision.

There is in this Squadron, 14. Ships, ten of them great, and foure Pinnaces, which are of 6567. tuns of burden, in which Ships bee imbarked 2037. Souldiers, 868. Mariners, which make in all 2802. and 260. great Peeces of Canon, 119000. Bullets, 467. Quintals of Powder, 140 of Lead, 89. of Match.

The Armie of the Gallyes of Castille, of the which is Generall, Jaques Flores de Valdes. [IV. x. 1899.]

THe Galeon S. Christopher, Captaine of 70. tuns, hath 205. men of Warre, and 120. Mariners, and 40. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which is necessary to the rest. The Galeon S. John Baptist, of 750. tuns hath 250. Souldiers, 140. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, & Bullets, Powder, lead, Match, & other necessary things. The Galeon S. Peter, of 530. tuns, 130. men of Warre, 140. Mariners, and 40. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest needfull. The Galeon S. John, of 530. tuns, 170. Souldiers, 120. Mariners, and 30. great Peeces, Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, and all the rest. The Galeon S. James the great, of 530. tuns, 230. Souldiers, 132. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the rest.

The Galeon S. Philip, and S. James, of 530. tuns, 159. Souldiers, and 116. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all that is necessary. The Galeon of the Ascension, of 530. tuns, 220. Souldiers, 114. Mariners, and 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all other necessary things. The Galeon of our Lady del Barrio, of 130. tuns, 170. Souldiers, 108. Mariners, and 30. Canons, Bullets, Powder, Lead, and all other necessary furniture. The Galeon of S. Medel and Celedon, of 530. tuns, 170. Souldiers, 110. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. Galeon S. Anne of the Port, of 250. tuns, 100. men of Warre, and 80. Mariners, 24. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Ship of our Lord of Vigonia, 750. tuns, 190. men of Warre, and 130. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Vessell of the Trinitee, of 780. tuns, 200. Souldiers, 122. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Ship of S. Katherine, of 862. tuns, 200. men of Warr, 160. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, and Powder, Bullets, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Ship of S. John Baptist, of 652. tuns, 200. Souldiers, 30. Mariners, 30. Canons, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Pinnace of our Lord Rosary, 30. Souldiers, 25. Mariners, 24. great Peeces, Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, and the rest of their provision.

There are in this Squadron, fourteene Galeons and Ships, and two Pinnaces, which beare 8714. tuns. In these Vessells there are imbarked 2458. Souldiers, 1719. Mariners, which are in all, 4177. and 348. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which they need.

The Armie of the Ships of Andelouzie, of which is Captaine Don Pedro de Valdes. This Pedro de Valdes was taken, and prisoner in England.

THe Captaine Ship of 1550. tuns, carrieth 304. men of War, 118. Mariners, 50. Canons, Powder, Bullets, and the rest of their provision. The Ship S. Francis, the Admirall of 915. tuns, 230. Souldiers, 60. Mariners,

30. Canons, Powder, Bullets, and the rest of their provision. The Galeon S. John Baptist, of 810. tuns, 250. Souldiers, and 40. Mariners, 40. great Peeces, Powder, Bullets, Match, Lead, and the rest. The Ship S. John Gargaran, of 569. tuns, 170. men of War, 60. Mariners, 20. great Peeces, Powder, Bullets, Match, Lead, and the rest. The Conception of 862. tuns, 200. men of War, 65. Mariners, 25. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Hulke Duquesa S. Anne of 900. tuns, 250. men of War, and 80. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Powder, Bullets, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Trinitie, 650. tuns, 200. men of Warre, 80. Mariners, 20. Canons, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and the rest. The Ship S. Mary de Juncar, of 730. tuns, 240. men of War, 80. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the rest. The Pinnace of the Holy Ghost, 40. men of War, 33. Mariners, 10. Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match and Cord, and all that which they need.

There are in this Squadron 11. Ships, 10. great, and a Pinnace, of the burden of 8762. tuns, in which are imbarked 2400. Souldiers, 800. Mariners, and 260. great Peeces.

The Armie of Ships come from the Province of Gipouzce, of which is Generall Michell de Oquendo.

THe Ship of S. Anne, the Captaine, of 1200. tuns of burden, hath 300. men of Warre, 60. Mariners, 50. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, and all the rest. The Ship of our Lord of the Rose, Admirall of 945. tuns, 230. Souldiers, 64. Mariners, and 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the rest. The Ship S. Savior, of 958. tuns, 330. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 30. Canons, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and the rest: The Ship of S. Steven, of 936. tuns, 200. men of Warre, 70. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the rest. The Ship of S. Marthe of 548. tuns, 180. men of Warre, 70. Mariners, 25. great Peeces, bullets, powder, and the rest. The ship S. Barbe of 525. tuns, 160. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 15. Canons,

bullets, powder, lead, match, and all the rest. The ship of S. Bonaventure, of 369. tuns, 170. Souldiers, 60. Mariners, 15. great Peeces, bullets, powder, lead, and the rest. The Mary of 291. tuns, 120. Souldiers, 40. Mariners, 15. great Peeces, bullets, powder, lead, and the rest. The S. Croix 680. tuns, 150. Souldiers, 40. Mariners, 20. great Peeces, bullets, powder, match, lead, and the rest. The Hulke Doucella, 500. tuns, 160. men of War, 40. Mariners, 18. great Peeces, powder, bullets, match, lead and all the rest. The Patax of the Annunciation of 60. tuns, 30. men of War, 16. Mariners, 12. great Peeces, bullets, powder, match, lead, and all the rest. The Patax S. Bernabe, is the same burden as the aforenamed. The Patax of our Lady of Guadaloupe is of the same burden also. The Pinnace of Magdelene, is also the same burden.

There are in this Squadron, 14. Ships, ten great Ships, two Pataches, and two Pinnaces, of 6991. tuns of burden. In which Vessels, there are imbarked 2092. men of Warre, and 670. Mariners, all commeth 2708.

The Armie of the East, of which is chief Martin de Vertendona.

THe Regasona, the Captaine, which is of 1294. tuns, hath 350. Souldiers, 90. Mariners, 35. great Peeces, powder, bullets, lead, match, and all the rest: The Lama, the Admirall, of 728. tuns, 210. Souldiers, 80. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, powder, bullets, lead, match, and all the rest. The Rata S. Mary crowned of 820. tuns, 340. men of Warre, 90. Mariners, 40. great Peeces, powder, bullets, match, lead, and the rest. The S. John of Cicile, of 880. tuns, 290. men of Warre, 70. Mariners, 30. Canons, and all the rest. The Trinitie Valencera, of a 1000. tuns, 240. Souldiers, 90. Mariners, 41. great Peeces, and all the rest of their furnitures. The Annuntiation of 730. tuns, 200. Souldiers, 90. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, and all the rest. The S. Nicholas Prodaveli of 834. tunnes, 280. Souldiers, 84. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, and all the rest. The Juliane of 780. tuns, 330. Souldiers, 80. Mariners, 36. great Peeces, and the rest.

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The Mary Pison of 666. tuns, 250. Souldiers, 80. Mariners, 22. great Peeces, and the rest of their need. The Trinitie Escala of 900. tunnes, 302. Souldiers, 25. great Peeces, and all the rest of their furniture.

In which Squadron there are ten Ships which are of 7705. tuns of burthen, and there are imbarked in them 2880. Souldiers, 807. Mariners, 310. great Peeces, with the rest of that they have.

The Armie of Hulkes in the which is Cap. John Lopez of Medina.

THe great Grison, the Captaine, of 650. tuns, 250. Souldiers, 60. Mariners, 40. great Peeces, and the rest. The S. Savior the Admirall of 650. tuns, 230. Souldiers, 60. Mariners, 30. great Peeces and the rest of their provision. The Sea Dog, of 200. tuns, 80. Souldiers, 30. Mariners, 10. great Peeces, and the rest. The White Faulcon the great, of 500. tuns, 160. men of Warre, 40. Mariners, 18. great Peeces, and all the rest. The Blacke Castle of 750. tuns, 250. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 25. great Peeces, and all the rest. The Barke of Amburg, of 600. tuns, 250. men of War, 50. Mariners, 25. Canons, and the rest. The House of peace the great, of the same burthen. The S. Peter the great of the same burthen also. The Sampson, and Peter the small, doe beare the same. The Barke of Auzique, of 450. tuns, 210. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 26. great Peeces, and the rest of their provision. The Falcon, the meane White, of 300. tuns, 80. men of War, 30. Mariners, 18. great Peeces, and all the rest. The S. Andrew of 400. tuns, 160. Souldiers, 40. Mariners, 15. great Peeces, and the rest of their provision. The Little house of peace, of 350. tuns, 160. Souldiers, 40. Mariners, 15. great Peeces, and the rest of their provision. The Flying Raven of 400. tuns, 210. Souldiers, 40. Mariners, 18. great Peeces, and the rest of their furniture.

Pataches and Zabres, wherein Don Antony of Mendoza commandeth.

THe White Dove, of 250. tuns, 60. Souldiers, 30. Mariners, 12. great Peeces, and the rest. The Adventure, S. Barbe fraughted of the same. The S.

James 600. tuns, 60. Souldiers, 40. Mariners, 19. great Peeces, and all the rest. S. Gabriel of the Port, of 280. tuns, 50. Souldiers, 25. Mariners, 9. great Peeces, and the rest of their furniture. The Esay is fraughted of the same.

There are in this Squadron 23. Hulkes, which are of 10271. tuns, in the which are imbarked 3221. men of Warre, 708. Mariners, 410. great peeces, and their necessary provision.

The Captaine of our Lord of Pilier of Zaragosse of 300. tunnes, 120. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 12. great Peeces, and their furniture. The English Charity, of 180. tuns, 80. Souldiers, 36. Mariners, 12. great Peeces, and the rest. The Scottish S. Andrew of 150. tuns, 51. Souldiers, 30. Mariners, 12. great Peeces, and their furniture. The Patache of the Crucifix, 150. tuns, 50. Souldiers, 30. Mariners, 8. great Peeces, and their furniture. Our Lord of the Haven fraught alike. The Conception of Carassa, and our Lord of Begova, and the Conception de Capitillo, and S. Hioros. being of the burthen of 60. or 70. tuns, 50. Souldiers, 30. Mariners, 8. great Peeces, a Peece, and their furniture. Our Lady of grace, the Conception of Frauncys Lastero, our Lady of Guadalupe, S. Frauncys, the Holy Spirit, our Lady of Frenesda, all fraughted alike. The Zabra of the Trinitie, the Zabra of our Lady Castre, S. Andrew, the Conception of Zomartiba, S. Clere, S. John of Carassa, and the Assumption, all fraughted alike.

There are in this Squadron 22. Pataches and Zabres, which are of the burthen of 1131. tuns, in the which there are imbarked 479. Souldiers, 574. Mariners, and there is 193. great Peeces, and all their furniture.

The foure Galeaces of Naples, which are give in charge to Dom Ugo de Moncada.

THe Galeace the Captaine called S. Lawrence, hath 270. Souldiers, 130. Mariners, 300. Slaves, 50. Peeces of Canon, and their furniture. The Galeace Patrone, 180. Souldiers, 112. Mariners, 300. Slaves, 50. great Peeces, and their furniture. The Galeace Girone,

170. Souldiers, 120. Mariners, 300. Slaves, 50. great Peeces. The Galeace Neapolitaine 124. Souldiers, 115. Mariners, 300. Slaves, 50. great Peeces, and the rest of their necessary fraught.

There are in these foure Galeaces 873. Souldiers, 468. Mariners, 200. great Peeces, 1200. Slaves, and the rest of their furniture.

The Gally Captaine, 110. Souldiers, 106. Mariners, 306. Slaves, and fiftie great Peeces, and other necessaries. The Gally Princesse, the Gally Diana, the Gally Vacava, are the like.

In the above named Galeaces, there are 1200. Slaves, and in the foure gallies, 888. which is in all 2088. Moreover, they carry powder for their need, if it be offered to doe battery, 600. Quintals.

So that there are in the said Army 130. Ships of 57868. tuns, 19295. Souldiers, and 8450. Mariners, 2088. Slaves, and 2630. great Peeces of Brasse of all sorts, among which there are Colevrines, and demy Colevrines, and Canons to the Stone, and other necessaries for their fraught.

In the Booke follow the names of the Adventurers, also of such as in the Army were entertained for pay; such also as were imbarked for the service of the Canon, for the Hospitall, the Regiments, and Companies in pay, the Officers, &c. which for brevitie I omit.

[IV. x. 1901.] *A description of the Galeons.*

The Galeons were sixtie foure in number, being of an huge bignesse, and verie stately built, being of marveilous force also, and so high, that they resembled great Castles, most fit to defend themselves and to withstand any assault, but in giving any other Ships the encounter farre inferiour unto the English and Dutch Ships, which can with great dexteritie weild & turne themselves at all assaies. The upper worke of the said Galeons was of thicknesse and strength sufficient to beare off Musket-shot. The lower worke and the timbers thereof were out of measure strong, being framed for plankes and ribs foure or five foot in thicknesse, insomuch that no bullets could pierce them,

but such as were discharged hard at hand: which afterward proved true, for a great number of bullets were found to sticke fast within the massie substance of those thicke plankes. Great and well pitched Cables were twined about the masts of their Ships, to strengthen them against the battery of shot.

A description of the Galliasses.

The Galliasses were of such bignesse, that they contained within them Chambers, Chappels, Turrets, Pulpits, and other commodities of great houses. The Galliasses were rowed with great Oares, there being in each of them 300. slaves for the same purpose, and were able to doe great service with the force of their Ordnance. All these together with the residue aforenamed were furnished and beautified with Trumpets, Streamers, Banners, warlike Ensignes, and other such like ornaments.

The great Ordnance, bullets, Gunpowder, and other furniture.

Their Pieces of Brasen Ordnance were 1600. and of Iron 1000. The Bullets thereto belonging were 120. thousand. Item of Gunpowder 5600. quintals. Of Match 1200. quintals. Of Muskets and Kaleivers 7000. Of Halberts and Partisans 10000. Moreover, they had great store of Canons, double Canons, Culverings and field-pieces for land service.

Their provision of victuals & other things necessary.

Likewise they were provided of all instruments necessary on Land to conveigh and transport their furniture from place to place; as namely of Carts, Wheeles, Wagons, &c. Also they had Spades, Mattocks and Baskets to set pioners on worke. They had in like sort great store of Mules and Horses, and whatsoever else was requisite for a Land-armie. They were so well stored of Biscuit, that for the space of halfe a yeere, they might allow each person in the whole Fleete halfe a quintall every moneth: whereof the whole summe amounteth unto an hundreth thousand quintals.

Likewise of Wine they had 147. thousand Pipes, sufficient also for halfe a yeeres expedition. Of Bacon 6500. quintals. Of Cheese three thousand quintals. Besides Fish, Rice, Beanes, Pease, Oyle, Vinegar, &c.

Moreover, they had 12000. Pipes of fresh water, and

all other necessarie provision; as namely Candles, Lanternes, Lampes, Sailes, Hempe, Oxe-hides and Lead to stop holes that should be made with the batterie of Gunshot. To be short, they brought all things expedient either for a Fleete by Sea, or for an Armie by land.

32000. persons in the Navie.

This Navie (as Diego Pimentelli afterward confessed) was esteemed by the King himselfe to containe 32000. persons, and to cost him every day 30. thousand Ducates.

A Spanish terzæ consisteth of 3200. souldiers.

There were in the said Navie five Terzaes of Spaniards (which Terzaes the Frenchmen call Regiments) under the command of five Governours, tearmed by the Spaniards Masters of the field, and amongst the rest there were many old and expert Souldiers chosen out of the Garrisons of Sicilie, Naples, and Terçera. Their Captaines or Colonels were Diego Pimentelli, Don Francisco de Toledo, Don Alonzo de Luçon, Don Nicolas de Isla, Don Augustin de Mexia: who had each of them two and thirty Companies under their conduct. Besides the which Companies there were many bands also of Castilians and Portugals, every one of which had their peculiar Governours, Captaines, Officers, Colours and weapons.

Baggage of the Armada.

It was not lawfull for any man, under grievous penaltie, to carry any woman or harlots in the Fleete: for which cause the women hired certaine Ships, wherein they sailed after the Navie: some of the which being driven by tempest arrived upon the coast of France.

The Generall of this mightie Navie, was Don Alonso Perez de Guzman Duke of Medina Sidonia, Lord of S. Lucar, and Knight of the golden Fleece: by reason that the Marquesse of Santa Cruz appointed for the same dignity, deceased before the time.

John Martines de Ricalde was Admirall of the Fleete.

Francis Bovadilla was chiefe Marshall: who all of them had their officers fit and requisite for the guiding and managing of such a multitude. Likewise Martin Alorcon was appointed Vicar generall of the Inquisition, being accompanied with more then a hundreth Monkes, to wit, Jesuites, Capuchines, and Friers Mendicant. Besides

whom also there were Phisitians, Chirurgians, Apothecaries, and whatsoever else pertained unto the Hospitall.

Over and besides the forenamed Governours and Officers, being men of chiefe note, there were 124. very noble and worthy Gentlemen, which went voluntarily of their owne costs and charges, to the end they might see fashions, learne experience, and attaine unto glory. Amongst whom was the Prince of Ascoli, Alonzo de Leiva, the Marquesse de Pennafiel, the Marquesse de Ganes, the Marquesse de Barlango, Count de Paredes, Count de Yelvas, and divers other Marqueses and Earles of the honorable families of Mendoza, of Toledo, of Pachieco, of Cordono, of Guzman, of Manriques, and a great number of others.

I have by me the Dukes Orders for the whole Navie, during this Voyage, made aboord the Gallion Saint Martin, May 28. the beginning whereof I have added, the whole would be too long. [IV. x. 1902.]

Don Alonso Peres de Gusman, the good Duke of Medina Sidonia, Countie of Nebla, Marquesse of Casheshe in Africa, Lord of the Citie Saint Lucar, Captaine Generall of the Occian Sea, of the Coast of Andaluzia, and of this Armie of his Majestie, and Knight of the honorable Order of the golden Fleece.

I Doe ordaine and command, that the generall Masters of the field, all Captaines of the Sea, Pilats, Masters, Souldiers, Mariners, and Officers, and whatsoever other people for the Land or Sea service commeth in this Armie, all the time that it indureth, shall be thus governed, as hereafter followeth, viz.

First, and before all things, it is to be understood by all the above named from the highest to the lowest: that the principall foundation and cause that hath moved the King his Majestie to make and continue this journie, hath beene, and is, to serve God, and to returne unto his *The cause of the Journey.*

Church a great many of contrite soules that are oppressed by the Heretikes, enemies of our holy Catholike faith, which have them subjects to their sects and unhappinesse: and for that every one, may put his eyes upon this marke, as we are bound, I doe command and much desire every one, to give charge unto the inferiors and those under their charge to imbarke themselves, being shriven, and having received the Sacrament with competent and contrition for their sinnes; by the which contrition and zeale to doe God such great service, he will carry and guide us to his great glory; which is, that which particularly and principally is pretended.

Their Shrift.

For avoiding blasphemy and raging oathes, and others.

In like manner, I doe charge and command you, to have particular care, that no Soldier, Marriner, or other, that serveth in this Armie, doe blaspheme, or rage against God, or our Lady, or any of the Saints, upon paine that he shall therefore sharply be corrected, and very well chastened, as it shall seeme best unto us: and for other oathes of lesse qualitie, the Governours in the same Ships they goe in, shall procure to remedy all: they shall punish them in taking away their allowance of Wine, or otherwise as they shall thinke good. And for that the most occasions come by play, you shall publikly prohibit it, especially the games that are forbidden: and that none doe play in the night by no meanes.

Debarring play.

Articles follow to suppresse quarrels, to avoid disgracing any man, and all occasions of scandall, forbidding carriage of common women; with other orders for watchwords, attendance on the Admirall, for fire and wilde-fire, and lights, armours, shot, powder, match, and other necessary instructions, too long to be here particularised: that in the height of humaine policie, and religious hypocrisie, the hand of God in Englands preservation may be made evident.

The preparation of the Duke of Parma to aide the Spaniards.

While the Spaniards were furnishing this their Navie, the Duke of Parma, at the direction of King Philip, made great preparation in the low Countries, to give aide and assistance unto the Spaniards, building Ships for the same

purpose, and sending for Pilots and Ship-wrights out of Italy. In Flanders he caused certaine deepe channels to be made, and among the rest, the channell of Yper, commonly called Yper-lee, employing some thousands of workemen about that service: to the end that by the said Cannell he might transport Ships from Antwerp and Ghendt to Bruges where he had assembled above a hundreth small Ships, called Hoyes, being well stored with victuals, which Hoyes he was determined to have brought into the Sea by the way of Sluys, or else to have conveied them by the said Yper-lee, being now of greater depth, into any port of Flanders whatsoever.

In the River of Waten, he caused 70. Ships with flat bottomes to be built, every one of which should serve to carry 30. horses, having each of them Bridges likewise for the Horses to come on boord, or to goe forth on land. Of the same fashion he had provided 200. other vessels at Neiuport, but not so great. And at Dunkerk he procured 28. Ships of warre, such as were there to be had, and caused a sufficient number of Mariners to be levied at Hamburg, Breme, Emden, and at other places. He put in the ballast of the said Ships, great store of beames of thicke plankes, being hollow and beset with Iron pikes beneath, but on each side full of claspes and hookes, to joyne them together.

He had likewise at Graveling provided 20. thousand of caske, which in a short space might be compact and joyned together with nailes and cords, and reduced into the forme of a Bridge. To be short, whatsoever things were requisite for the making of Bridges, and for the barring & stopping up of Havens mouthes with stakes, posts, and other meanes, he commanded to be made ready. Moreover, not far from Neiuport haven, he had caused a great pile of wooden fagots to be laid, and other furniture to be brought for the rearing up of a Mount. The most part of his Ships contained two Ovens a peece to bake Bread in, with a great number of saddles, bridles, and such other like apparell for Horses. They had Horses [IV. x. 1903.]

likewise, which after their landing should serve to convey and draw engines, field-pieces, and other warlike provisions.

Neere unto Neiuport he had assembled an armie, over the which hee had ordained Camillo de Monte to be Campmaster. This army consisted of 30. bands or ensignes of Italians, of ten bands of Wallons, eight of Scots, and eight of Burgundians, all which together amount unto 56. bands every band containing a hundreth persons. Neere unto Dixmud there were mustered eightie bands of Dutchmen, sixtie Spaniards, six of high Germans, and seven bands of English fugitives, under the conduct of Sir William Stanlie, an English Knight. In the suburbs of Cortreight there were 4000. horsemen together with their horses in a readinesse: and at Waten 900. horses, with the troupe of the Marquesse del Gwasto Captaine generall of the horsemen.

Unto this famous expedition and presupposed victory, many potentates, Princes, and honorable personages hied themselves: out of Spaine the Prince of Melito, called the Duke of Pastrana, and taken to be the Son of one Ruy Gomes de Silva, but in very deede accompted among the number of King Philips base sons. Also the Marquesse of Burgrave, one of the sons of Arch-duke Ferdinand and Philippa Welsera. Vespasian Gonsaga of the family of Mantua, being for chivalry a man of great renowne, and heretofore Vice-roy in Spaine. Item John Medices, base son unto the Duke of Florence. And Amadas of Savoy, the Duke of Savoy his base son, with many others of inferiour degrees.

Her Majesties warlike preparation by Sea.

At length when as the French King about the end of May signified unto her Majestie in plaine tearmes that she should stand upon her guard, because he was now certainly enformed, that there was so dangerous an invasion imminent upon her Realme, that he feared much, least all her land and sea-forces would be sufficient to withstand it, &c. then began the Queenes Majestie more carefully to gather her forces together, and to furnish her

own ships of warre, and the principall ships of her subjects, with souldiers, weapons, and other necessary provision. The greatest and strongest ships of the whole Navie she sent unto Plimmouth, under the conduct of the right honorable Lord Charles Howard, Lord high Admirall of England, &c. Under whom the renowned Knight Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-admirall. The number of these ships was about an hundreth. The lesser ships being 30. or 40. in number, and under the conduct of the Lord Henry Seimer were commanded to lie betweene Dover and Caleis.

Her Majesties Land-forces.

On land likewise throughout the whole realme, souldiers were mustered and trained in all places, and were committed unto the most resolute and faithfull captaines. And whereas it was commonly given out, that the Spaniard having once united himselfe unto the Duke of Parma, ment to invade by the river of Thames, there was at Tilburie in Essex, over-against Gravesend, a mighty army encamped: and on both sides of the river fortifications were erected, according to the prescription of Frederike Genebelli an Italian enginier. Likewise there were certaine ships brought to make a Bridge, though it were very late first. Unto the said Armie came in proper person the Queenes most roiall Majestie, representing Tomyris that Scithian warlike Princesse, or rather divine Pallas her selfe. Also there were other such armies levied in England.

Catholike Roman.

The principal Recusants (least they should stir up any tumult in the time of the Spanish invasion) were sent to remaine at certain convenient places, as namely in the Isle of Ely and at Wisbich. And some of them were sent unto other places, to wit, unto sundry Bishops and Noblemen, where they were kept from endangering the state of the common wealth, and of her sacred Majestie, who of her most gracious clemency gave expresse commandement, that they should be intreated with all humanitie and friendship.

The preparation of the United Provinces.

The Provinces of Holland, Zeland, &c. giving credit

unto their intelligence out of Spaine, made preparation to defend themselves: but because the Spanish ships were described unto them to be so huge, they relied partly upon the shallow and dangerous Seas all along their coasts. Wherefore they stood most in doubt of the Duke of Parma, his small and flat-bottomed ships. Howbeit they had all their ships of warre to the number of nintie and above, in a readinesse for all assayes: the greater part whereof were of a small burthen, as being more meete to saile upon their Rivers and shallow Seas: and with these ships they besieged all the havens in Flanders, beginning at the mouth of Scheld, or from the towne of Lillo, and holding on to Greveling, and almost unto Caleis, and fortified all their Sea-townes with strong garrisons.

Against the Spanish fleets arrivall, they had provided five and twenty or thirty good ships, committing the government of them unto Admirall Lonck, whom they commanded to joine himselfe unto the Lord Henry Seymer, lying betweene Dover and Cales. And when as the foresaid ships (whereof the greater part besieged the haven of Dunkerke) were driven by tempest into Zeland, Justin of Nassau the Admirall of Zeland supplied that squadron with five and thirty ships, being of no great burthen, but excellently furnished with Guns, Mariners and Souldiers in great abundance, & especially with 1200 brave Musquetiers, having beene accustomed unto Sea-fights, and being chosen out of all their company for the same purpose: and so the said Justin of Nassau kept such diligent ward in the Station, that the Duke of Parma could not issue forth with his Navie into Sea out of any part of Flanders.

[IV. x. 1904.] *The Spanish fleete set saile upon the 19 of May.*

In the meane while the Spanish Armada set saile out of the haven of Lisbon upon the 19. of May, An. Dom. 1588. under the conduct of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, directing their course for the Bay of Corunna, alias the Groine in Gallicia, where they tooke in souldiers, and warlike provision, this port being in Spaine the neerest unto England. As they were sailing along, there arose

such a mighty tempest, that the whole Fleet was dispersed, so that when the Duke was returned unto his company, he could not escry above eighty ships in all, whereunto the residue by little and little joyned themselves, except eight which had their Masts blowne over-boord. One of the foure Gallies of Portingall escaped very hardly, retiring her selfe into the haven. The other three were upon the coast of Baion in France, by the assistance and courage of one David Gwin, an English Captive (whom the French and Turkish slaves aided in the same enterprise) utterly disabled and vanquished: one of the three being first overcome, which conquered the two other, with the slaughter of their Governour and souldiers, and among the rest of Don Diego de Mandrana, with sundry others: and so those slaves arrived in France with the three Gallies, set themselves at libertie.

O multum dilecta Deo, tibi militat æther conjurati veniunt ad classica venti &c.

Guins valour.

The Navie having refreshed themselves at the Groine, and receiving daily commandement from the King to hasten their journie, hoised up sailes the 11. day of July, and so holding on their course till the 19. of the same moneth, they came then unto the mouth of the narrow Seas or English channell. From whence (striking their sailes in the meane season) they dispatched certain of their small ships unto the Duke of Parma. At the same time the Spanish Fleete was escried by an English Pinnace, Captaine whereof was Master Thomas Fleming, after they had beene advertised of the Spaniards expedition by their scoutes and espials, which having ranged along the coast of Spaine, were lately returned home into Plimmoth for a new supply of victuals and other necessaries, who considering the foresaid tempest, were of opinion that the Navie being of late dispersed and tossed up and downe the maine Ocean, was by no meanes able to performe their intended Voyage. Moreover, the Lord Charles Howard, Lord high Admirall of England, had received Letters from the Court, signifying unto him, that her Majesty was advertised that the Spanish Fleete would not come forth, nor was to be any longer expected for, and

They set saile from the Groine upon the 11. of July.

The Spaniards come within kenning of England.

Cap. Fleming.

therefore, that upon her Majesties commandement hee must send backe foure of her tallest and strongest Ships unto Chattam.

The L. Admirals short warning upon the 19. of July.

The Lord high Admirall of England being thus on the sudden, namely upon the 19. of July about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, enformed by the Pinnace of Captaine Fleming aforesaid, of the Spaniards approach, with all speede and diligence possible hee warped his Ships, and caused his Mariners and Souldiers (the greater part of whom was absent for the cause aforesaid) to come on boord, and that with great trouble and difficultie, insomuch that the Lord Admirall himselfe was faine to lie without in the road with six Ships onely all that night, after the which many others came forth of the haven.

The 20. of July.

The very next day, being the 20. of July about high noone, was the Spanish Fleet escried by the English, which with a South-west winde came sailing along, and passed by Plimmouth; in which regard (according to the judgement of many skilfull Navigators) they greatly overshot themselves, whereas it had beene more commodious for them to have staied themselves there, considering that the Englishmen being as yet unprovided, greatly relied upon their owne forces, and knew not the estate of the Spanish Navie. Moreover, this was the most convenient Port of all others, where they might with greater security have beene advertised of the English forces, and how the commons of the land stood affected, and might have stirred up some mutinie, so that hither they should have bent all their puissance, and from hence the Duke of Parma might more easily have conveied his Ships. But this they were prohibited to doe by the King and his Counsell, and were expresly commanded to unite themselves unto the souldiers and ships of the said Duke of Parma, and so to bring their purpose to effect. Which was thought to be the most easie and direct course, for that they imagined that the English and Dutch men would be utterly daunted and dismaied thereat, and would each man of them retire unto his owne Province or Port for

Gods great mercy to England. For had not Flemming brought word, the Queenes Navie had easily beene oppressed: nor could it so soon be ready, had the Spaniards then taken their opportunitie.

the defence thereof, and transporting the Armie of the Duke under the protection of their huge Navie, they might invade England. It is reported that the chiefe commanders in the Navy, and those which were more skilfull in navigation, to wit, John Martines de Ricalde, Diego Flores de Valdez, and divers others, found fault that they were bound unto so strict directions and instructions, because that in such a case many particular accidents ought to concurre and to be respected at one and the same instant, that is to say, the opportunitie of the winde, weather, time, tide, and ebbe, wherein they might saile from Flanders to England, Oftentimes also the darknesse and light, the situation of places, the depths and shoalds were to be considered: all which especially depended upon the conveniency of the windes, and were by so much the more dangerous. But it seemed that they were enjoyned by their Commission to ancre neere unto, or about Caleis, whither the Duke of Parma with his ships and all his warlike provision was to resort, and while the English and Spanish great ships were in the midst of their conflict, to passe by, and to land his souldiers upon the Downes. The Spanish Captives reported that they were determined first to have entred the River of Thames, & thereupon to have passed with small ships up to London, supposing that they might easily win that rich and flourishing Citie, being but meanely fortified and inhabited with Citizens not accustomed to the wars, who durst not withstand their first encounter, hoping moreover to finde many rebels against her Majestie, and Popish Catholikes, or some favourers of the Scottish Queene (not long before beheaded) who might be instruments of sedition. [IV. x. 1905.]

Thus often advertising the Duke of Parma of their approach, the 20. of July they passed by Plimmouth, which the English pursuing and getting the winde of them, gave them the chase and the encounter, and so both Fleetes frankly exchanged their Bullets.

The day following, which was the 21. of July, the English Ships approached within Musket shot of the *The 21. of July.*

Spanish: at what time the Lord Charles Howard most hotly and valiantly discharged his Ordnance upon the Spanish Vice-admirall. The Spaniards then well perceiving the nimblenesse of the English ships in discharging upon the enemy on all sides, gathered themselves close into the forme of an halfe Moone, and slackned their sailes, least they should outgoe any of their company. And while they were proceeding on in this manner, one of their great Galliasses was so furiously battered with shot, that the whole Navie was faine to come up rounder together for the safegard thereof: whereby it came to passe that the principall Galleon of Sivill (wherein Don Pedro de Valdez, Vasques de Silva, Alonzo de Sayas, and other Noble men were embarqued) falling foule of another ship, had her fore-mast broken, and by that meanes was not able to keepe way with the Spanish Fleete, neither would the said Fleete stay to succour it, but left the distressed Galeon behinde. The Lord Admirall of England, when hee saw this Ship of Valdez, and thought she had beene voide of Marriners and Souldiers, taking with him as many ships as he could, passed by it, that hee might not loose sight of the Spanish Fleete that night. For Sir Francis Drake (who was notwithstanding appointed to beare out his Lanterne that night) was giving of chase unto five great Hulkes which had separated themselves from the Spanish Fleete: but finding them to be Easterlings, hee dismissed them. The Lord Admirall all that night following the Spanish Lanterne instead of the English, found himselfe in the morning to be in the midst of his enemies Fleete, but when he perceived it, he clenly conveied himselfe out of that great danger.

Galeon forsaken.

The 22. of July.

The day following, which was the 22. of July, Sir Francis Drake espied Valdez his ship, whereunto he sent for his Pinnace, and being advertised that Valdez himselfe was there, and 450. persons with him, he sent him word that hee should yeelde himselfe. Valdez for his honours sake caused certaine conditions to be propounded unto Drake: who answered Valdez, that he was not now at

leisure to make any long parle, but if he would yeelde himselfe, he should finde him friendly and tractable: howbeit if he had resolved to die in fight, he should prove Drake to be no dastard. Upon which answer, Valdez and his Company understanding that they were fallen into the hands of fortunate Drake, being moved with the renoune and celebritie of his name, with one consent yeelded themselves, and found him very favourable unto them. Then Valdez with forty or fiftie Noblemen and Gentlemen pertaining unto him, came on boord Sir Francis Drakes ship. The residue of his company were carried unto Plimmouth, where they were detained a yeere and an halfe for their ransome.

Don Pedro de Valdez with his ships and company taken.

Valdez comming unto Drake, and humbly kissing his hand, protesting unto him, that he and his had resolved to die in battell, had they not by good fortune fallen into his power, whom they knew to be right curteous and gentle, and whom they had heard by generall report to be most favourable unto his vanquished foe: insomuch, that he said it was to be doubted whether his enemy had more cause to admire and love him for his great, valiant, and prosperous exploits, or to dread him for his singular felicity and wisdome, which ever attended upon him in the wars, and by the which he had attained unto so great honor. With that Drake embraced him, and gave him very honorable entertainment, feeding him at his owne table, and lodging him in his Cabbin. Here Valdez began to recount unto Drake the forces of all the Spanish Fleete, and how foure mighty Gallies were separated by tempest from them: and also how they were determined first to have put into Plimmouth haven, not expecting to be repelled thence by the English ships, which they thought could by no meanes withstand their impregnable forces, perswading themselves that by meanes of their huge Fleete, they were become Lords and commanders of the maine Ocean. For which cause they marveiled much how the Englishmen in their small Ships durst approach within musket shot of the Spaniards mighty

Virtus in hoste laudanda.

wodden Castles, gathering the wind of them, with many other such like attempts. Immediately after, Valdez and his Company (being a man of principall authority in the Spanish Fleet, and being descended of one and the same family with that Valdez, which in the yeere 1574. besieged Leiden in Holland) were sent captives into England. There were in the said ship 55. thousand Duckets in ready monie of the Spanish Kings gold, which the souldiers merrily shared among themselves.

55000. duckets.

The same day was set on fire one of their greatest ships, being Admirall of the squadron of Guipusco, and being the ship of Michael de Oquendo Vice-admirall of the whole Fleete, which contained great store of Gunpowder, and other warlike provision. The upper part onely of this ship was burnt, and all the persons therein contained (except a very few) were consumed with fire. And thereupon it was taken by the English, and brought into England, with a number of miserable burnt and scorched Spaniards. Howbeit the Gunpowder (to the great admiration of all men) remained whole and unconsumed.

A great Biscaine ship taken by the English.

[IV. x. 1906.]

In the meane season the Lord Admirall of England in his ship, called the Arke-royall, all that night pursued the Spaniards so neere, that in the morning hee was almost left alone in the enemies Fleete, and it was foure of the clocke at afternoone before the residue of the English Fleete could overtake him. At the same time Hugo de Moncada, Governour of the foure Galliasses, made humble suite unto the Duke of Medina that hee might be licenced to encounter the Admirall of England: which liberty the Duke thought not good to permit unto him, because he was loath to exceede the limits of his Commission and charge.

The 23. of July.

Upon tuesday, which was the 23. of July, the Navy being come over against Portland, the wind began to turne Northerly, insomuch that the Spaniards had a fortunate and fit gale to invade the English. But the Englishmen having lesser and nimbler ships, recovered againe the vantage of the winde from the Spaniards,

Slow motions of the great Spanish ships.

whereat the Spaniards seemed to be more incensed to fight then before. But when the English fleet had continually and without intermission from morning to night beaten and battered them with all their shot both great and small: the Spaniards uniting themselves, gathered their whole Fleete close together into a roundell, so that it was apparant that they ment not as yet to invade others, but onely to defend themselves, & to make haste unto the place prescribed unto them, which was neere unto Dunkerk, that they might joyne forces with the Duke of Parma, who was determined to have proceeded secretly with his small ships under the shadow and protection of the great ones, and so had intended circumspectly to performe the whole expedition.

Admirals hot fight.

This was the most furious and bloudy skirmish of all, in which the Lord Admirall of England continued fighting amidst his enemies Fleete, and seeing one of his Captaines a farre off, he spake unto him in these words: Oh George, what doest thou? Wilt thou now frustrate my hope and opinion conceived of thee? Wilt thou forsake mee now? With which words hee being enflamed, approached forthwith, encountered the enemy, and did the part of a most valiant Captaine. His name was George Fenner, a man that had beene conversant in many Sea-fights. In this conflict there was a certaine great Venetian ship with other small ships surprized and taken by the English.

Captaine Fenners valour. A great Venetian ship and other small ships taken by the English.

The English Navy in the meane while increased, whereunto out of all Havens of the Realme resorted ships and men: for they all with one accord came flocking thither as unto a set field, where immortall fame and glory was to be attained, and faithfull service to be performed unto their Prince and Countrey. In which number there were many great and honorable personages, as namely, the Earle of Oxford, of Northumberland, of Cumberland, &c. with many Knights and Gentlemen: to wit, Sir Thomas Cecill, Sir Robert Cecill, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Hatton, Sir Horatio Palavicini, Sir Henry

Brooke, Sir Robert Carew, Sir Charles Blunt; Master Ambrose Willoughbie, Master Henry Nowell, Master Thomas Gerard, Master Henry Dudley, Master Edward Darcie, Master Arthur Gorge, Master Thomas Woodhouse, M. William Harvie, &c. And so it came to passe that the number of the English ships amounted unto an hundreth: which when they were come before Dover, were increased to an hundred and thirty, being notwithstanding of no proportionable bignesse to encounter with the Spaniards, except two or three and twenty of the Queenes greater ships, which onely, by reason of their presence, bred an opinion in the Spaniards minds concerning the power of the English Fleet: the Marriners and Souldiers whereof were esteemed to be twelve thousand.

12000. English Mariners and Souldiers.

The 24. of July.

The foure and twentie of July, when as the Sea was calme, and no winde stirring, the fight was onely betweene the foure great Galleasses and the English ships, which being rowed with Oares, had great vantage of the English ships, which notwithstanding for all that would not be forced to yeelde, but discharged their chaine-shot to cut asunder their Cables and Cordage of the Galleasses, with many other such Stratagems. They were now constrained to send their men on land for a new supply of Gunpowder, whereof they were in great scarcitie, by reason they had so frankly spent the greater part in the former conflicts. The same day, a Counsell being assembled, it was decreed that the English Fleete should be devided into foure squadrons: the principall whereof was committed unto the Lord Admirall: the second to Sir Francis Drake: the third to Captaine Hawkins: the fourth to Captaine Frobisher.

Want of Powder.

Spanish order.

The Spaniards in their sailing observed very diligent and good order, sailing three and foure and sometimes more ships in a ranke, and following close up one after another, and the stronger and greater ships protecting the lesser.

The 25. of July.

The five and twenty of July, when the Spaniards were

come over-against the Isle of Wight, the Lord admirall of England being accompanied with his best ships (namely the Lion, Captaine whereof was the Lord Thomas Howard: The Elizabeth Jonas under the command of Sir Robert Southwell, son in law unto the Lord Admirall: the Beare under the Lord Sheffield, Nephew unto the Lord Admirall: the Victorie under Captaine Barker: and the Galeon Leicester under the forenamed Captain George Fenner) with great valour and dreadfull thunder of shot, encountered the Spanish Admirall, being in the very midst of all his Fleete. Which when the Spaniards perceived, being assisted with his strongest ships, he came forth and entered a terrible combat with the English; *Terrible fight.* for they bestowed each on other the broad sides, and mutually discharged all their Ordnance, being within one [IV. x. 1907.] hundred or an hundred and twenty yards one of another. At length the Spaniards hoised up their sailes, and againe gathered themselves up close into the forme of a roundell. In the meane while Captaine Frobisher had engaged himselfe into a most dangerous conflict. Whereupon the Lord Admirall comming to succour him, found that hee had valiantly and discreetly behaved himselfe, and that he had wisely and in good time given over the fight, because that after so great a batterie he had sustained no damage. For which cause the day following, being the sixe and twenty of July, the Lord Admirall rewarded him with *The 26. of July.* the order of Knighthood, together with the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Sheffield, Master John Hawkins, and others.

The same day the Lord Admirall received intelligence from New-haven in France, by certaine of his Pinnaces, that all things were quit in France, and that there was no *Guisians feared.* preparation of sending aide unto the Spaniards, which was greatly feared from the Guisian faction, and from *Tale. conquest.* the Leaguers: but there was a false rumour spread all *The 27. of July.* about, that the Spaniards had conquered England.

The seven and twentieth of July, the Spaniards about *The Spaniards ancre before Caleis.* the sun-setting were come over-against Dover, and rode

at ancre within the sight of Caleis, intending to hold on for Dunkerk, expecting there to joyne with the Duke of Parma his forces, without which they were able to doe little or nothing. Likewise the English Fleete following up hard upon them, ancred just by them within culvering-shot. And here the Lord Henry Seymer united himselfe unto the Lord Admirall with his fleet of 30. ships which rode before the mouth of Thames.

As the Spanish Navie therefore lay at ancre, the Duke of Medina sent certaine Messengers unto the Duke of Parma, with whom upon that occasion many Noblemen and Gentlemen went to refresh themselves on land: and amongst the rest the Prince of Ascoli, being accounted the Kings base son, and a very proper and towardly yong Gentleman, to his great good went on shoare, who was by so much the more fortunate, in that he had not opportunity to returne on boord the same ship, out of which he was departed, because that in returning home it was cast away upon the Irish coast, withall the persons contained therein. The Duke of Parma being advertised of the Spanish Fleetes arrivall upon the coast of England, made all the haste hee could to be present himselfe in this expedition for the performance of his charge: vainely perswading himselfe that now by the meanes of Cardinall Allen, hee should be crowned King of England, and for that cause he had resigned the Government of the Low-Countries unto Count Mansfeld the elder. And having made his vowes unto Saint Mary of Hall in Henault (whom he went to visite for his blinde devotions sake) he returned toward Bruges the eight and twenty of July. The next day travelling to Dunkerk, hee heard the thundring Ordnance of either Fleete: and the same evening being come to Dixmud, hee was given to understand the hard successe of the Spanish Fleete.

Prince of Ascoli his good fortune.

The 28. of July.

The 29. of July.

The 30. of July.

Upon tuesday, which was the 30. of July, about high noone, he came to Dunkerk, when as all the Spanish Fleete was now passed by: neither durst any of his ships in the meane space come forth to assist the said Spanish Fleet

for feare of five and thirty warlike ships of Holland and Zeland, which there kept watch and ward under the conduct of the Admirall Justin of Nassau. The foresaid five and thirty ships were furnished with most cunning Mariners and old expert Souldiers, amongst the which were twelve hundred Muketeers, whom the States had chosen out of all their Garrisons, and whom they knew to have beene heretofore experienced in Sea-fights. This Navie was given especially in charge not to suffer any ship to come out of the Haven, nor to permit any Zabraes, Pataches or other small vessels of the Spanish Fleete (which were more likely to aide the Dunkerkers) to enter thereinto, for the greater ships were not to be feared by reason of the shallow Sea in that place. Howbeit the Prince of Parma his forces being as yet unready, were not come on boord his ships, onely the English Fugitives, being seven hundred in number, under the conduct of Sir William Stanley, came in fit time to have beene embarked, because they hoped to give the first assault against England. The residue shewed themselves unwilling and loath to depart, because they saw but a few Marriners, who were by constraint drawne into this expedition, and also because they had very bare provision of Bread, Drinke, and other necessary victuals. Moreover, the ships of Holland and Zeland stood continually in their sight, threatning shot and Powder, and many inconveniences unto them: for feare of which ships, the Mariners and Sea-men secretly withdrew themselves both day and night, least that the Duke of Parma his Souldiers should compell them by maine force to goe on boord, and to breake through the Hollanders Fleete, which all of them judged to be impossible, by reason of the straightnesse of the Haven.

States Fleete.

English Hispaniolized traitors.

But it seemeth that the Duke of Parma and the Spaniards grounded upon a vaine and presumptuous expectation, that all the ships of England and of the Low-Countries would at the first sight of the Spanish and Dunkerk Navie have betaken themselves to flight, yeeld-

The Spaniards vaine opinion concerning their own fleet.

ing them Sea-roome, and endevouring onely to defend themselves, their havens, and Sea-coasts from invasion. Wherefore their intent and purpose was, that the Duke of Parma in his small and flat-bottomed ships, should, as it were under the shadow and wings of the Spanish Fleete, [IV. x. 1908.] convey over all his troupes, armour, and warlike provision, and with their forces so united, should invade England; or while the English Fleete were busied in fight against the Spanish, should enter upon any part of the coast, which he thought to be most convenient. Which invasion (as the Captives afterward confessed) the Duke of Parma thought first to have attempted by the River of Thames; upon the bankes whereof having at his first arrivall landed twenty or thirty thousand of his principall Souldiers, he supposed that he might easily have won the Citie of London; both because his small ships should have followed and assisted his Land-forces, and also for that the Citie it selfe was but meanely fortified and easie to overcome, by reason of the Citizens delicacie and discontinuance from the warres.

When as therefore the Spanish Fleete rode at anker before Caleis, to the end they might consult with the Duke of Parma what was best to be done according to the Kings commandement, and the present estate of their affaires, and had now (as we will afterward declare) purposed upon the second of August, being Friday, with one power and consent to have put their intended businesse *Sea-stratagem.* in practise; the Lord Admirall of England being admonished by her Majesties Letters from the Court, thought it most expedient either to drive the Spanish Fleet from that place, or at leastwise to give them the encounter: and for that cause (according to her Majesties prescription) he tooke forthwith eight of his worst and basest ships, which came next to hand, and disburthening them of all things which seemed to be of any value, filled them with Gunpowder, Pitch, Brimstone, and with other combustible and fiery matter; and charging all their Ordnance with powder, bullets and stones, and sent the

said ships upon the 28. of July, being Sunday, about two of the clocke after midnight, with the winde and tide against the Spanish Fleete: which when they had proceeded a good space, being forsaken of the Pilots, and set on fire, were directly carried upon the King of Spaines Navie: which fire in the dead of night put the Spaniards into such a perplexitie and horror (for they feared lest they were like unto those terrible ships, which Frederic Jenebelli three yeeres before, at the siege of Antwerpe, had furnished with Gunpowder, stones, and dreadfull engines, for the dissolution of the Duke of Parma his Bridge, built upon the River of Scheld) that cutting their cables whereon their ankers were fasted, and hoising up their sailes they betooke themselves very confusedly unto the maine Sea. *The 28. of July.*

And this sudden confusion, the principall and greatest of the foure Galliasses falling fowle of another ship, lost her rudder: for which cause when she could not be guided any longer, she was by the force of the tide cast into a certaine shoald upon the shoare of Caleis, where she was immediately assaulted by divers English Pinnaces, Hoyes, and Drumblers. And as they lay battering of her with their Ordnance, and durst not boord her, the Lord Admirall sent thither his long Boate with an hundreth choise Souldiers under the command of Captaine Amias Preston. Upon whose approach their fellowes being more emboldened, did offer to boord the Galliasse; against whom the Governor thereof and Captaine of all the foure Galliasses, Hugo de Moncada, stoutly opposed himself, fighting by so much the more valiantly, in that he hoped presently to be succoured by the Duke of Parma. In the meane season Moncada, after hee had endured the conflict a good while, being hit on the head with a Bullet, fell downe starke dead, and a great number of Spaniards also were slaine in his company. The greater part of the residue leaping over-boord into the Sea, to save themselves by swimming, were most of them drowned. Howbeit there escaped among others Don Anthonio de Manriques,

The Galliasse of Hugo de Moncada cast upon the shoalds before Caleis.

M. Amias Preston valiantly boordeth the Galliasse.

Moncada slain.

a principall officer in the Spanish fleete (called by them their Veador Generall) together with a few Spaniards besides: which Anthonio was the first man that carried certaine newes of the successe of their fleete into Spaine. This huge & monstrous Galliasse, wherein were contained three hundred slaves to lug at the Oares, and foure hundred souldiers, was in the space of three houres rifled in the same place; and there was found amongst divers other commodities 50000 Duckets of the Spanish Kings treasure. At length when the slaves were released out of their fetters, the English men would have set the said ship on fire, which Monsieur Gourdon, the Governour of Caleis, for feare of the damage which might thereupon ensue to the Towne and Haven, would not permit them to doe, but drave them from thence with his great Ordnance.

50000. *duckets.*

The great fight before Greveling the 29. of July.

Upon the 29. of July in the morning, the Spanish Fleete after the foresaid tumult, having arranged themselves againe into order, were, within sight of Greveling, most bravely and furiously encountered by the English, where they once againe got the winde of the Spaniards: who suffered themselves to be deprived of the commodity of the place in Caleis rode, and of the advantage of the winde neere unto Dunkerk, rather then they would change their array, or separate their forces now conjoyned and united together, standing onely upon their defence. And albeit there were many excellent and warlike ships in the English fleet, yet scarse were there 22. or 23. among them all which matched 90. of the Spanish ships in bignesse, or could conveniently assault them. Wherefore the English ships using their prerogative of nimble stirrage, whereby they could turne and wield themselves with the winde which way they listed, came oftentimes very neereupon the Spaniards, and charged them so sore, that now and then they were but a Pikes length at sunder: and so continually giving them one broad side after another, they dispatched all their shot both great and small upon them, spending one whole day from morning till night in that

English ships advantage.

violent kinde of conflict, untill such time as powder and bullets failed them. In regard of which want they thought it convenient not to pursue the Spaniards any longer, because they had many great vantages of the English, namely for the extraordinary bignesse of their ships, and also for that they were so neerely conjoyned, and kept together in so good array, that they could by no meanes be fought withall one to one. The English thought therefore, that they had right well acquitted themselves, in chasing the Spaniards first from Caleis, and then from Dunkerk, and by that means to have hindered them from joyning with the Duke of Parma his forces, and getting the winde of them, to have driven them from their owne coasts.

The Spaniards that day sustained great losse and damage, having many of their ships shot thorow and thorow, and they discharged likewise great store of Ordnance against the English; who indeede sustained some hinderance, but not comparable to the Spaniards losse; for they lost not any one ship or person of account. For very diligent inquisition being made, the Englishmen all that time wherein the Spanish Navie sailed upon their Seas, are not found to have wanted above one hundreth of their people: albeit Sir F. Drakes ship was pierced with shot above forty times, and his very cabben was twise shot thorow, and about the conclusion of the fight, the bed of a certaine Gentleman lying weary thereupon, was taken quite from under him with the force of a Bullet. Likewise, as the Earle of Northumberland and Sir Charles Blunt were at dinner upon a time, the Bullet of a Demiculvering brake thorow the middest of their Cabbin, touched their feete, and strooke downe two of the standers by, with many such accidents befalling the English ships, which it were tedious to rehearse. Whereupon it is most apparant, that God miraculously preserved the English Nation. For the Lord Admirall wrote unto her Majesty, that in all humaine reason, and according to the judgement of all men (every circumstance being duely considered)

Gods provident mercies to the English.

the Englishmen were not of any such force, whereby they might, without a miracle, dare once to approach within the sight of the Spanish Fleete: insomuch, that they freely ascribed all the honour of their victory unto God, who had confounded the enemy, and had brought his counsels to none effect.

Three Spanish ships sunke in the fight.

The same day the Spanish ships were so battered with English shot, that that very night and the day following, two or three of them sunke right downe: and among the rest a certain great ship of Biscay, which Captaine Crosse assaulted, which perished even in the time of the conflict, so that very few therein escaped drowning; who reported that the Governors of the same ship slew one another upon the occasion following: one of them which would have yeelded the ship was suddenly slaine; the brother of the slaine party in revenge of his death slew the murtherer, and in the meane while the ship sunke.

Two Galeons taken and carried into Zeland.

The same night two Portugall galeons of the burthen of seven or eight hundreth tuns a peece; to wit, Saint Philip and Saint Matthew, were forsaken of the Spanish Fleete, for they were so torne with shot, that the water entered into them on all sides. In the Galeon of Saint Philip was Francis de Toledo, brother unto the Count de Argas, being Colonell over two and thirty bands; besides other Gentlemen; who seeing their mast broken with shot, they shaped their course, aswell as they could, for the coast of Flanders: whither when they could not attaine, the principall men in the ship committed themselves to their skiffe, arrived at the next towne, which was Ostend; and the ship it selfe being left behinde with the residue of their company, was taken by the Ulishingers. In the other Galeon, called the Saint Matthew, was embarked Don Diego Pimentelli another Camp-master and Colonell of two and thirty bands, being brother unto the Marquesse of Tamnares, with many other Gentlemen and Captaines. Their Ship was not very great, but exceeding strong, for of a great number of Bullets which had batterd her, there were scarce twenty wherewith she

was pierced or hurt: her upper worke was of force sufficient to beare off a Musket shot: this ship was shot thorow and pierced in the fight before Greveling: insomuch that the leakage of the water could not be stopped: whereupon the Duke of Medina sent his great skiffe unto the Governour thereof, that he might save himselfe and the principall persons that were in his ship: which he, upon a hault courage, refused to doe: wherefore the Duke charged him to saile next unto himselfe: which the night following hee could not performe, by reason of the abundance of water which entered his ship on all sides; for the avoiding whereof, and to save his ship from sinking, he caused fifty men continually to labour at the Pump, though it were to small purpose. And seeing himselfe thus forsaken and separated from his Admiral, he endevored what he could to attaine unto the coast of Flanders; where being espied by foure or five men of war, which had their station assigned them upon the same coast: he was admonished to yeelde himselfe unto them; which he refused to doe, was strongly assaulted by them altogether, & his ship being pierced with many bullets, was brought into far worse case then before, & forty of his souldiers were slain. By which extremity he was enforced at length to yeelde himselfe unto Peter Banderduess and other Captaine, which brought him and his ship into Zeland; and that other ship also last before mentioned: which both of them, immediatly after the greater and better part of their goods were unladen, sunke right downe. For the memory of this exploit, the foresaid Captain Banderduess caused a Banner of one of these ships to be set up in the great Church of Leiden in Holland, which is of so great a length, that being fasted to the very roofe, it reached downe to the ground. About the same time another small ship being by necessity driven upon the coast of Flanders, about Blankenberg, was cast away upon the sands, the people therein being saved. Thus Almighty God would have the Spaniards huge ships to be presented, not onely to the view of the

[IV. x. 1910.]

A small ship cast away about Blankenberg.

English, but also of the Zelanders; that at the sight of them they might acknowledge of what small ability they had beene to resist such impregnable forces, had not God endued them with courage, providence, and fortitude, yea, and fought for them in many places with his owne arme.

The dishonorable flight of the Spanish navy: & the prudent advice of the L. Admiral.

The 29. of July the Spanish fleete being encountered by the English (as is aforesaid) and lying close together under their fighting sailes, with a South-west winde sailed past Dunkerk, the English ships still following the chase. Of whom the day following, when the Spaniards had got Sea roome, they cut their maine sailes; whereby they sufficiently declared that they meant no longer to fight, but to flie. For which cause the Lord Admirall of England dispatched the Lord Henry Seymer with his squadron of small ships unto the coast of Flanders, where, with the helpe of the Dutch ships, he might stop the Prince of Parma his passage, if perhaps he should attempt to issue forth with his army. And he himselfe in the meane space pursued the Spanish fleet untill the second of August, because he thought they had set saile for Scotland. And albeit he followed them very neere, yet did he not assault them any more, for want of Powder and Bullets. But upon the fourth of August, the winde arising, when as the Spaniards had spread all their sailes, betaking themselves wholly to flight, & leaving Scotland on the left hand, trended toward Norway (whereby they sufficiently declared that their whole intent was to save themselves by flight, attempting for that purpose, with their battered and crazed ships, the most dangerous navigation of the Northren Seas) the English seeing that they were now proceeded unto the latitude of 57. degrees, and being unwilling to participate that danger whereinto the Spaniards plunged themselves, and because they wanted things necessary, and especially Powder and Shot, returned backe for England; leaving behinde them certaine Pinasses onely, which they enjoyned to follow the Spaniards aloofe, and to observe their course. And so it came to passe, that the fourth of August, with great danger and industry, the

Our want of Powder & Bullets proclaime the fulnesse of Gods present power & merciful both deliverance and victory.

The English return home from the pursuit of the Spaniards the 4. of Aug.

English arrived at Harwich; for they had beene tossed up and downe with a mighty tempest for the space of two or three dayes together, which it is likely did great hurt unto the Spanish fleet, being (as I said before) so maimed and battered. The English now going on shoare, provided themselves forthwith of Victuals, Gunpowder, and other things expedient, that they might be ready at all assayes to entertaine the Spanish fleete, if it chanced any more to returne. But being afterward more certainely informed of the Spaniards course, they thought it best to leave them unto those boisterous and uncouth Northren Seas, and not there to hunt after them.

The Spaniards seeing now that they wanted foure or five thousand of their people, and having divers maimed and sicke persons, and likewise having lost ten or twelve of their principall ships, they consulted among themselves, what they were best to doe, being now escaped out of the hands of the English, because their victuals failed them in like sort, & they began also to want cables, cordage, ankers, masts, sailes, and other navall furniture, and utterly despaired of the Duke of Parma his assistance (who verily hoping & undoubtedly expecting the return of the Spanish fleet, was continually occupied about his great preparation, commanding abundance of ankers to be made, and other necessary furniture for a Navy to be provided) they thought it good at length, so soone as the winde should serve them, to fetch a compasse about Scotland and Ireland, and so to returne for Spaine.

The Spaniards consult to saile round about Scotland & Ireland, and so to returne home.

For they well understood, that commandement was given thorowout all Scotland, that they should not have any succour or assistance there. Neither yet could they in Norway supply their wants. Wherefore, having taken certaine Scottish and other fisherboats, they brought the men on boord their owne ships, to the end they might be their guides and Pilots. Fearing also least their fresh water should faile them, they cast all their horses and mules over-boord: and so touching no where upon the coast of Scotland, but being carried with a fresh gale betweene the

Horses cast over-boord.

Orcades and Faar-Isles, they proceeded farre North, even unto 61. degrees of latitude, being distant from any land at the least 40. leagues. Here the Duke of Medina, Generall of the Fleet, commanded all his followers to shape their course for Biscay: and he himselfe with twenty or five and twenty of his ships which were best provided of fresh water and other necessaries, holding on his course over the maine Ocean, returned safely home. The residue of his ships being about forty in number, and committed unto his Vice-admirall, fell neerer with the coast of Ireland, intending their course for Cape Clare, because they hoped there to get fresh water, and to refresh themselves on land. But after they were driven with many contrary windes, at length, upon the second of September, they were cast by a tempest arising from the South-west upon divers parts of Ireland, where many of their ships perished. And amongst others, the ship of Michael de Oquendo, which was one of the great Galliasses: and two great ships of Venice also, namely, la Ratta and Belanzara, with other 36 or 31. ships more, which perished in sundry tempests, together with most of the persons contained in them.

The shipwrack of the Spaniards upon the Irish coast.

Likewise some of the Spanish ships were the second time carried with a strong West wind into the channell of England, whereof some were taken by the English upon their coast, and others by the men of Rochel upon the coast of France.

[IV. x. 1911.]

Moreover, there arrived at Newhaven in Normandy, being by tempest inforced so to doe, one of the foure great Galliasses, whereby they found the ships with the Spanish women which followed the Fleet at their setting forth. Two ships also were cast away upon the coast of Norway, one of them being of a great burthen; howbeit all the persons in the said great ship were saved: insomuch that of 134. ships, which set saile out of Portugall, there returned home 53. onely, small and great: namely of the foure Galliasses but one, and but one of the foure Gallies. Of the 91. great Galleons and Hulkes there

Of 134. ships of the Spanish fleet there returned home but 53.

were missing 58. and 33. returned: of the Pataches and Zabraes 17. were missing, and 18. returned home. In briefe, there were missing 81. ships, in which number were Galliasses, Gallies, Galeons, and other vessels both great and small. And amongst the 53. ships remaining, those also are reckoned which returned home before they came into the English channell. Two Galeons of those which were returned, were by misfortune burnt as they rode in the haven; and such like mishaps did many other undergoe. Of 30000. persons which went in this expedition, there perished (according to the number and proportion of the ships) the greater and better part; and many of them which came home, by reason of the toiles & inconveniences which they sustained in this voiage, died not long after their arrivall. The Duke of Medina immediately upon his returne was deposed from his authority, commanded to his private house, and forbidden to repaire unto the Court; where he could hardly satisfie or yeeld a reason unto his malicious enemies and backbiters. Many honorable personages and men of great renown deceased soone after their returne; as namely John Martines de Ricalde, with divers others. A great part also of the Spanish Nobility and Gentry employed in this expedition perished either by fight, diseases, or drowning, before their arrivall; and among the rest Thomas Perenot of Grandvell a Dutchman, being Earle of Cantebroi, and son unto Cardinall Grandvell his brother.

D. of Medina.

Ricaldes death.

Upon the coast of Zeland Don Diego de Pimentell, brother unto the Marquesse de Tamnares, and kinsman unto the Earle of Beneventum & Calva, and Colonell over 32. bands with many other in the same ship was taken and detained as prisoner in Zeland.

Into England (as we said before) Don Pedro de Valdez, a man of singular experience, and greatly honoured in his country, was led captive, being accompanied with Don Vasques de Silva, Don Alonzo de Sayas, and others.

Likewise upon the Scottish Westerne Isles of Lewis, and Ila, and about Cape Cantyre upon the maine land,

there were cast away certaine Spanish Ships, out of which were saved divers Captaines and Gentlemen, and almost foure hundred souldiers, who for the most part, after their shipwracke, were brought unto Edenborough in Scotland, and being miserably needy and naked, were there cloathed at the liberalitie of the King and the Merchants, and afterward were secretly shipped for Spaine; but the Scottish Fleete wherein they passed touching at Yarmouth on the coast of Norfolke, were there staied for a time untill the Counsels pleasure was knowne; who in regard of their manifold miseries, though they were enemies, winked at their passage.

Spaniards pitied.

Upon the Irish coast many of their Noblemen and Gentlemen were drowned; and divers slain by the barbarous and wilde Irish. Howbeit there was brought prisoner out of Ireland, Don Alonzo de Lucon, Colonel of two and thirty bands, commonly called a Terza of Naples; together with Rodorigo de Lasso, and two others of the family of Cordova, who were committed unto the custody of Sir Horatio Palavicini, that Monsieur de Teligny the son of Monsieur de la Noue (who being taken in fight neere Antwerpe, was detained prisoner in the Castle of Turney) might be ransomed for them by way of exchange. To conclude, there was no famous nor worthy family in all Spain, which in this expedition lost not a son, a brother, or a kinsman.

Spaines general losse.

New coines stamped for the memory of the Spaniards overthrow.

For the perpetuall memory of this matter, the Zelanders caused new coine of Silver and Brasse to be stamped: which on the one side contained the armes of Zeland, with this inscription; GLORY TO GOD ONELY: and on the other side, the pictures of certaine great ships, with these words; THE SPANISH FLEET: and in the circumference about the ships, IT CAME, WENT, AND WAS. Anno 1588. That is to say, the Spanish fleet came, went and was vanquished this yeere; for which, glory be given to God onely. Likewise they coined another kinde of mony; upon the one side whereof was represented a ship fleeing, and a ship sinking: on the other side, foure

men making prayers and giving thankes unto God upon their knees; with this sentence: Man purposeth, God disposeth 1588. Also, for the lasting memory of the same matter, they have stamped in Holland divers such coines, according to the custome of the ancient Romans. Also other coines were stamped with a Fleet flying with full saile, and inscribed; Venit, Vidit, Fugit; It came, saw, fled: others with the fired ships, and the fleet in confusion, the word Dux Foemina Facti.

While this wonderfull and puissant Navie was sailing along the English coasts, and all men did now plainly see and heare that which before they would not be perswaded of, all people thorowout England prostrated themselves with humble prayers and supplications unto God: but especially the outlandish Churches (who had greatest cause to feare, and against whom by name, the Spaniards had threatned most grievous torments) enjoyned to their people continuall fastings and supplications, that they might turne away Gods wrath and fury now imminent upon them for their sins: knowing right well, that prayer was the onely refuge against all enemies, calamities, and necessities, and that it was the onely solace and reliefe for mankinde, being visited with affliction and misery. Likewise such solemne daies of supplication were observed throughout the united Provinces.

The people of England and of the united provinces, pray, fast, and give thankes unto God.

[IV. x. 1912.]

Also a while after the Spanish Fleet was departed, there was in England, by the commandement of her Majesty, and in the united Provinces, by the direction of the States, a solemne festivall day publikely appointed, wherein all persons were enjoyned to resort unto the Church, and there to render thankes and praises unto God: and the Preachers were commanded to exhort the people thereunto. The foresaid solemnity was observed upon the 19. of November: which day was wholly spent in Preaching, praying, giving thankes, with the accustomed solemnities of Bonfires, Singing, Ringing, and other wonted expressions of publike joy.

Likewise, the Queenes Majesty her selfe, imitating the

ancient Romans, rode into London in triumph, in regard of her owne and her subjects glorious deliverance. For being attended upon very solemnly by all the principall estates and officers of her Realme, she was carried thorow her said Citie of London in a triumphant chariot, and in robes of triumph, from her Palace unto the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul, out of the which the ensignes and colours of the vanquished Spaniards hung displaied. And all the Citizens of London in their Liveries stood on either side the street, by their severall Companies, with their Ensignes and Banners: and the streets were hanged on both sides with Blew cloath, which, together with the foresaid Banners, yeelded a very stately and gallant prospect. Her Majesty being entered into the Church, together with her Clergy and Nobles gave thankes unto God, and caused a publike Sermon to be preached before her at Pauls Crosse; wherein none other argument was handled, but that praise, honour, and glory might be rendered unto God, and that Gods name might be extolled by thanksgiving. And with her own Princely voyce she most Christianly exhorted the people to doe the same: whereupon the people with a loud acclamation wished her a most long and happy life, to the confusion of her foes. The Lord Admirall had a pension assigned for his good service.

This publike joy was increased by Sir Robert Sidney (now Earle of Leicester) who returning out of Scotland, related to her Majestie the King of Scots faithfull friendship, and love to her, and to the Religion. He had beene employed to the said King, whiles the Spanish Fleet hovered on the coast, to gratulate with him in the Queenes name, for his alacrity in the common cause, and to obtaine his promise of aide, if the Spaniards landed in Scotland; and to put him in minde how ambitiously the Spaniard sought to swallow in all Britaine, urging the Pope to Excommunicate him, so to strip him of Scotland, and quit his succession in England; to admonish him of the threats of Mendoza and the Popes Nuntio; that there-

fore he should be very wary of the Papists in Scotland. He answered conceitedly, amongst other speeches, that he hoped for no other benefit from the Spaniard, then that which Polyphemus had promised Ulysses, namely, that when the rest were devoured, he should be swallowed last. *The Kings wise speech.*

Thus the magnificent, huge, and mighty fleet of the Spaniards (which themselves tearmed in all places invincible) such as sailed not upon the Ocean Sea many hundreth yeeres before, in the yeere 1588. vanished into smoake; to the great confusion and discouragement of the authours thereof. In regard of which her Majesties happy successe all her neighbours and friends congratulated with her, and many Verses were penned to the honour of her Majesty by learned men, whereof we will here annexe those of Master Beza. *Epinitian or triumphall verses.*

Ad serenissimam Elizabetham Angliæ Reginam Theodor. Beza.

STraverat innumeris Hispannus navibus æquor,
Regnis juncturus sceptra Britanna suis.
Tanta hujus, rogitas, quæ motus causa? superbos
Impulit Ambitio, vexit Avaritia.
Quàm bene te ambitio mersit vanissima ventus?
Et tumidos tumidæ, vos superastis aquæ!
Quàm bene totius raptores orbis avaros,
Hausit inexhausti justa vorago maris!
At tu, cui venti, cui totum militat æquor,
Regina, ô mundi totius una, decus,
Sic regnare Deo perge, ambitione remota,
Prodiga sic opibus perge juvare pios,
Ut te Angli, longùm Anglis ipsa fruaris,
Quàm dilecta bonis, tam metuenda malis.

The same in English.

THe Spanish Fleet did flote in narrow Seas,
And bed her ships against the English shore,
With so great rage as nothing could appease,
And with such strength as never seene before:
And all to joyne the Kingdome of that land
Unto the Kingdomes that he had in hand.

Now if you aske what set this King on fire.
To practise warre when he of peace did treat.
It was his Pride, and never quencht desire,
To spoile that Ilands wealth, by peace made great:
His Pride which far above the heavens did swel
And his desire as unsuffic'd as hell.
But well have winds his proud blasts overblown
And swelling waves alaid his swelling heart,
Well hath the Sea with greedy gulfs unknown,
Devoured the devourer to his smart:
And made his ships a pray unto the sand,
That meant to pray upon anothers land.
And now, O Queene, above all others blest,
For whom both winds & waves are prest to fight
So rule your owne, so succour friends opprest,
(As farre from pride, as ready to doe right)
That England you, you England long enjoy,
No lesse your friends delight, then foes annoy.

[IV. x. 1913.] I have thought good to adde here the prime reports made by the Spaniards and their friends, touching the successe of their Armada, as they were printed in Spaine, and after published and scorned in England.

The true Relation of the successe of the Catholike Armie against their Enemies, by the Letters of the Post-master of Logrono of the fourth of September, and by Letters from Roan of the one and thirtieth of August, and by Letters from Paris of the Kings Embassadour there: wherein he declareth the imprisonment of Francis Drake, and other great Nobles of England, and how the Queene is in the Field with an Armie, and of a certaine Mutinie which was amongst the Queenes Armie, with the successe of the said Catholike Armie since they entred in the Groyne, till they came on the Coast of England, with two Ballets* compounded by Christover Bravo, a blind man of Cordowa, Printed with licence by Gabriel Ramos Beiarano Printer.

*Like lips like lettuce. A blind Balladmaker fit Homer for Achillian conquests.

THe newes of England is confirmed here, by a Letter of the Governour of Roan. Hee writeth hee hath in his power the chiefe Pilot of Captaine Drake, and that he knoweth that all the English Armie remained overthrowne, having sunke two and twentie Ships, and taken fortie, and imprisoned Francis Drake, having given them chase almost as high as Abspurge, and slaine many by the sword, and likewise saith that there was found in Captaine Drakes Ship, a Peece of Ordnance of five and twentie foot long, which discharged a Shot of a hundreth weight at once made of purpose, with one onely Shot to sinke our Spanish Admirall, and it pleased God, although shee was somewhat battered, yet was shee repaired againe, and overthrew the English Armie.

By a Letter of Diego Peres, chiefe Post-master of Logrono dated the second of September, 1588.

THe English have lost above fortie Ships in one encounter where they could not flye, which was in Luxaten a Haven in Scotland, to the which place, since

Copie of a letter that John Gamarra wrote from Roan the 31. of August of the same yeere.

the departure of the Spanish Armies from Calleis, the English Armie followed, and supposing they went to take that Haven, they got before ours to defend the entrance: wee seeing them so neere the English Fleet, and that they could not retire, as they alwaies did when they pleased to the English Haven, they set upon them so valiantly that they sunke twentie of their Ships, and they tooke twentie six whole and sound, and the rest seeing their destruction fled away with great losse of men, and their Ships very much battered, and with this (they say) the Spanish Armie tooke the Haven where they are very well lodged, as every one affirmeth, and so the newes is here: I pray God give them good successe: Wee understand by the Post come from Calleis, that in England it is forbidden upon paine of death and losse of goods, that no bodie doe write newes from thence to any place: which confirmeth the newes above.

Copie of a Letter that Pèdro de Alva did write from Roan the first of September of the same yeere.

I Doe not write newes of the Spanish Armie, because they are divers, and would gladly write the very truth. Now by the newes which runneth from divers places, as Calleis, Deepe, and Holland, and presumptions from England and other places, it is holden for certaine that they fought with the English, and broken their heads, having sunke many of their Ships and taken others, and the rest which they say were twentie seven Ships, returned very much battered to the River of London, which are all those that could escape: There goeth with this Post another Post of Jorge Segus of Calleis, which saith that certaine Masters and Mariners of Zeland, did affirme to the Governours of Calleis, Mounsier de Gorden, that our Fleet is in a Haven or River in Scotland, called Trifla, where they say there may ride two thousands Ships: this is that which commonly is currant here.

Advise from London, which the Embassador of our Sovereigne Lord the King resident in Parris had from thence.

BY newes from London the thirtie six of August, it is knowne for most certaine from persons of credite, that the Queens Admiral Generall was arrived in the

River of London, with twentie five ships onely without his Admirall Ship, which was taken by our Admirall Saint John, and it is well knowne in England, that to hide the losse of their Admirall Ship, they say hee put himselfe in a smaller Ship the better to follow our Armie: and it is knowne for certaintie that he saved himselfe in a Boat when he lost his Ship. That Drake for certaintie is taken or slaine. The same is confirmed by the way of Holland, by a Pinnace of theirs. And from Austerland, that the Queene commanded upon paine of death, that no body should speake of her Fleet, and that there was great sorrow in those parts of England, and that the Queene had in the field thirtie thousand raw Souldiers, betwixt Dover and Margate, and that the Catholikes understanding that all their Fleet was dispersed, moved a certaine Mutinie, which forced the Queene to goe her selfe into the Field, and for certaine it is knowne that there is not brought into England, neither Ship nor Boat of ours, more then the Ship of Don Pedro Valdez, and that our Fleet was gone into Scotland, and arrived in a Haven called Trapena Euxaten.

By a Letter of the chiefe Post master of Burdeux, written to the French Embassadour, the 2. of Sept. 1588.

AFter that I had written this, here is arrived a Scottishman, which saith that all the Spanish Fleet is arrived in Scotland, and that Scottishmen have taken Armes against the English.

Relation of that which hath passed till this day, the fifth of Sept. 1588. till three of the clock in the afternoon, knowne by the relations and advice come to his Majestie from the happy Fleet, wherof is Generall the Duke of Medina, in the conquest of England.

THat upon the thirtieth of July, without seeing any sayle of the Enemies in the Sea, hee came to the Channell, sixe leagues from Plimouth: where understanding the Enemies were, hee gathered together and set in order all the Fleet: and sayling the first of August, there was discovered some Sayles of the Enemies, the which the second day were numbred to bee threescore Sayle, of which the Duke tooke the wind, and passed without any fight, although he presented the same to them, howbeit they began to shoot at the Rearward: but the Duke in the Galleon S. Martin, set the Prow of his Ship against the biggest of the Enemies, the which being

succoured by twentie others, fled away: of this fight and first encounter, there was sunke three Galeasses, and foure mightie Galeons of the Queenes: there was burnt of ours by negligence of a Gunner, the Admirall of Oquendo, and the Enemies tooke the chiefe Ship of Don Pedro de Valdez, which being entangled with others under his charge: was left without Tackle, and so neere the Enemies, that shee could not be succoured by others.

With this, our Fleet seeing that the Enemy in every point did flye from giving battell, they sailed with some calme weather, and the Enemies after them, shooting alwayes at the Rearward, untill the seventh, that our Fleet ancored in the Road of S. John, betwixt Calleis and Bollin, nine leagues from Dunkerk, and the Enemies did the like, the neerest they could to England.

The night being approached, the Enemies got up their Ankers to get wind, and not to suffer our Ships to goe out of the Road to Sea, because they had trimmed eight Ships of fire, which with the current of the water, should have put themselves amongst our Ships to have burnt them. But my Lord the Duke, foreseeing the danger prevented them, with commandement that the Ships that were neerest should cut their Cables, and take up the others with a readinesse uncredible: and with this the Enemies pretence was hindered, and so got the Sea most bravely and with good fortune, that if hee had not done it our Army should have beene in an evill case, for in the very place where we left, there was shot off by them out of those fiery Ships, such Fires and other Engines, that were sufficient to burne the Sea, much more Ships which are made of Wood and Pitch.

In this departure, the Captaine of the Galeasses had a great mischance: for getting up her Anker, a Cable fell foule of her Helme, that shee could not follow the rest, which caused one of her sides to lie so high that her Ordnance could not play, and so twentie five Pinnaces came and battered her, and with all this, if the Mariners, Souldiers and Rowers that were in her, had not cast them-

selves into the Sea, it is holden for certaine, that Don Hugo de Moncada had defended her, as he did untill she came into Calleis, where at the entrance thereof, he was killed of two Caliver shot, the people on shoare defended the Galeasse, and all that was in her, and delivered the same to our Soveraigne Lord the Kings Ministers.

At this time the Duke had a very franke wind, and the like had the Queenes Fleet: and so they both passed by the sight of Dunkerke, insomuch as they on Land knew the Gallion S. Martin, and others that went fighting with the English Army, and in this order they went till the twelfth.

Afterwards they write, that their came into Calleis a Ship, which saith, that the twelfth day they did see the two Fleets together in fight: another which came afterwards, said he had seene some Ships spoyled and torne, and from them they threw out their baggage which they saved in Boats, which argueth they were Ships of the Enemies, for that our men had no place to save themselves, nor there were none of them arrived into Flanders, which was their place of returne.

OUt of England was advise given, that on the thirteenth arrived fifteene of the Queenes Ships, and they said that the Galleon S. Martin, wherein my Lord the Duke is (whom God preserve) had encountred with Drake, and had grappled his Ship, and captived his Person, and other Noble Englishmen, and taken other fifteene Ships, beside others that were distressed, and the Duke with his Fleet followed his way to Scotland, because the wind was not come about.

With these newes his Majesty resteth very much contented, and caused them to be sent to the Empresse, by the hands of Francisco Ydiaquez, his Secretary of Estate.

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Chap. XII.

A Discourse of the Portugall Voyage, A. 1589. Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake Generalls, written (as is thought) by Colonell Antonie Wingfield, imployed in the same Voyage, formerly published by his friend to whom it was written; and here abbreviated.

HAving determinately purposed to put on this habite of a Souldier, I grew doubtfull whether to employ my time in the warres of the Low-countries, which are in auxiliarie manner maintained by her Majestie, or to follow the fortune of this voyage, which was an adventure of her and many honourable personages, in revenge of unsupportable wrongs offered unto the estate of our [IV. x. 1915.] Countrey by the Castilian King: in arguing whereof, I finde that by how much the Challenger is reputed before the Defendant, by so much is the journey to bee preferred before those defensive Warres. For had the Duke of Parma his turne beene to defend, as it was his good fortune to invade: from whence could have proceeded that glorious honour which these late warres have laid upon him, or what could have beene said more of him, then of a Respondent (though never so valiant) in a private Duell? Even that he hath done no more then by his honour he was tied unto. For the gaine of one Towne, or any small defeat giveth more renowme to the Assailant, then the defence of a Countrey, or the withstanding of twentie encounters, can yeeld any man who is bound by his place to guard the same: whereof as well the particulars of our age, especially in the Spaniard, as the reports of former Histories may assure us, which have still layed the fame of all warres upon the Invader. And doe not ours in these dayes live obscured in Flanders, either not having wherewithall to manage any warre, or not putting

on Armes, but to defend themselves when the enemy shall procure them? Whereas in this short time of our Adventure, we have won a Town by Escalade, battered and assaulted another, overthrowne a mightie Princes power in the Field, landed our Army in three severall places of his Kingdome, marched seven dayes in the heart of his Country, lyen three nights in the Suburbs of his principall Citie, beaten his forces into the Gates thereof, and possessed two of his frontier Forts, as shall in discourse thereof more particularly appeare. But our Army, which hath not cost her Majestie much above the third part of one yeeres expences in the Low-countries, hath already spoyled a great part of the provision hee had made at the Groine of all sorts, for a new voyage into England; burnt three of his Ships, whereof one was the second in the last yeeres expedition, called S. Juan de Colorado; taken from his above 150. Peeces of good artillery; cut off more then 60. Hulkes, and 20. French Ships well manned fit and ready to serve him for men of warre against us, laden for his store with Corne, Victualls, Masts, Cables and other merchandizes; slaine and taken the principall men of Warre hee had in Galitia; made Don Pedro Enriques de Gusman, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his forces in Portugall, shamefully run at Peniche; laid along of his best Commander in Lisbon; wherefore I directly conclude that this proceeding is the most safe and necessary way to be held against him, and therefore more importing then the warre in the Low-countries. I doubt not but this voyage hath sufficiently made knowne what they are even upon their owne dung-hill; which, had it bin set out in such sort as it was agreed upon by their first demand, it might have made our Nation the most glorious people of the world. For hath not the want of eight of the twelve Peeces of Artillery, which were promised unto the Adventure, lost her Majesty the possession of the Groine and many other places, as hereafter shall appeare; whose defensible rampiers were greater then our battery (such as it was) cold force: and

A briefe rehearsall of the English exploits in this voyage.

therefore were left unattempted? It was also resolved to have sent 600. English Horses of the Low-countries, whereof wee had not one, notwithstanding the great charges expended in their transportation hither: and that may the Army assembled at Puente de Burgos thanke God of, as well as the forces of Portugall, who fore-ran us six dayes together: Did we not want seven of the thirteen old Companies, which we should have had from thence: foure of the ten Dutch Companies; and six of their men of Warre for the Sea, from the Hollanders: which I may justly say wee wanted, in that we might have had so many good Souldiers, so many good ships, and so many able bodies more then wee had? Did there not upon the first thinking of the journey, divers gallant Courtiers put in their names for Adventurers to the sum of 10000. li. who seeing it went forward in good earnest, advised themselves better, and laid the want of so much money upon the journey? Was there not moreover a round summe of the adventure spent in levying, furnishing, and maintaining three moneths one thousand five hundred men for the service of Berghen, with which Companies the Mutinies of Ostend were suppressed, a service of no small moment?

What misery the detracting of the time of our setting out, which should have beene the first of February, did lay upon us, too many can witnesse: and what extremitie the want of that months victualls which wee did eat, during the moneth wee lay at Plimouth for wind, might have driven us unto, no man can doubt of, that knoweth what men doe live by, had not God given us in the end a more prosperous wind and shorter passage into Galitia then hath been often seene, where our owne force and fortune revictualled us largely: of which crosse winds, that held us two dayes after our going out, the Generalls being weary, thrust to Sea in the same, wisely chusing rather to attend the change thereof there, then by being in Harbour to lose any part of the better, when it should come by having their men on shoare: in which two dayes

twentie five of our Companies shipped in part of the Fleet were scattered from us, either not being able or willing to double Ushant.

Generall Norris and Generall Drake.

These burdens layed upon our Generalls before their going out, they have patiently endured, and I thinke they have thereby much enlarged their honour: for having done thus much with the want of our Artillery, 600. Horse, 3000. Foot, 20000. li. of their adventure, and one moneths victualls of their proportion, what may be conjectured they would have done with their full complement? For our instruction against them, who had almost seduced you from the true opinion you hold of such men, you shall understand that Generall Norris from his booke was trained up in the warres of the Admirall of France, and in very young yeeres had charge of men under the Earle of Essex in Ireland: which with what commendations hee then discharged, I leave to the report of them who observed those services. Upon the breach betwixt Don John and the States, he was made Colonell Generall of all the English Forces there present, or to come, which he continued two yeeres: he was then made Marshall of the Field under Conte Hohenlo: and after that, Generall of the Army in Frisland: at his comming home in the time of Monsieurs government in Flanders, he was made Lord President of Munster in Ireland, which he yet holdeth, from whence within one yeere hee was sent for, and sent Generall of the English Forces, which her Majestie lent then to the Low-countries, which he held till the Earle of Leicesters going over. And he was made Marshall of the Field in England, the enemy being upon our Coast, and when it was expected the Crowne of England should have beene tried by battell. All which places of Command, which never Englishman successively attained unto in forraine warres, and the high places her Majestie hath thought him worthy of, may suffice to perswade you that hee was not altogether unlikely to discharge that he undertooke.

Generall Norris his Martiall education and employments. [IV. x. 1916.]

What fame Generall Drake hath gotten by his journey

about the world, by his adventures to the West Indies, and the scourges hee hath laid upon the Spanish Nation, I leave to the Southerne parts to speake of. But to answere the reports, which have beene given out in reproach of the Actors and Action by such as were in the same: let no man thinke otherwise, but that they, who fearing the casuall accidents of Warre had any purpose of returning, did first advise of some occasion that should move them thereunto: and having found any whatsoever did thinke it sufficiently just, in respect of the earnest desire they had to seeke out matter that might colour their comming home.

Of these there were some, who having noted the late Flemish wars, did find that many young men have gone over and safely returned Souldiers within few moneths, in having learned some words of Art used in the wars, and thought after that good example to spend like time amongst us: which being expired they began to quarrell at the great mortalitie that was amongst us. The neglect of discipline in the Armie, for that men were suffered to bee drunke with the plentie of Wines. The scarsitie of Surgions. The want of carriages for the hurt and sicke: and the penury of victualls in the Campe: It hath beene proved by strickt examinations of our Musters, that we were never in our fulnesse before our going from Plimouth 11000. Souldiers, nor above 2500. Mariners. It is also evident that there returned above 6000. of all sorts, as appeareth by the severall paiments made to them since our comming home. And I have truely shewed you that of these numbers very neere three thousand forsooke the Armie at the Sea, whereof some passed into France, and the rest returned home. So as wee never being 13000. in all, and having brought home above six thousand with us, you may see how the world hath beene seduced, in beleeving that we have lost 16000. men by sicknesse.

If at home in the eyes of your Justices, Majors, Preachers, and Masters, and where they pay for every

pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquor: doe they thinke that those base disordered persons whom themselves sent unto us, as living at home without rule, who hearing of Wine doe long for it as a daintie that their purses could never reach to in England, and having it there without money even in their houses where they lie and hold their guard, can be kept from being drunke; and once drunke, held in any order or tune, except we had for every drunkard an Officer to attend him? But who bee they that have run into these disorders? Even our newest men, our youngest men, and our idlest men, and for the most part our slovenly prest men, whom the Justices (who have alwayes thought unworthily of any warre) have sent out as the scum and dregs of the Countrey. And those were they, who distempering themselves with their hot Wines, have brought in that sicknesse, which hath infected honester men then themselves. But I hope, as in other places the recovery of the disease, doth acquaint their bodies with the ayre of the Countrey where they be, so the remainder of these which have either recovered, or past without sicknesse will prove most fit for Martiall services.

If we have wanted Surgeons, may not this rather be laid upon the Captaines (who are to provide for their severall Companies) then upon the Generalls, whose care hath been more generall. And how may it be thought that every Captaine, upon whom most of the charges of raising their Companies was laid as an adventure, could provide themselves of all things expedient for a war, which was alwayes wont to be maintained by the purse of the Prince. But admit every Captain had his Surgeon: yet were the want of curing neverthelesse: for our English Surgeons (for the most part) bee unexperienced in hurts that come by shot; because England hath not knowne warres but of late, from whose ignorance proceeded this discomfort, which I hope will warne those that hereafter goe to the warres, to make preparation of such as may better preserve mens lives by their skill.

From whence the want of carriages did proceed, you may conjecture in that wee marched through a Country neither plentifull of such provisions, nor willing to part from any thing: yet this I can assure you, that no man of worth was left either hurt or sicke in any place unprovided for. And that the Generall commanded all the Mules and Asses, that were laden with any baggage to be unburdened and taken to that use: and the Earle of Essex and he for mony hired men to carry men upon Pikes. And the Earle (whose true vertue and nobilitie, as it doth in all other his actions appeare, so did it very much in this) threw downe his owne stuffe, I meane apparell and necessaries which hee had there from his owne carriages, and let them be left by the way to put hurt and sicke men upon them.

[IV. x. 1917.]

Earle of Essex his worthy Acts.

And the great complaint that these men make for want of victualls, may well proceed from their not knowing the wants of warre; for if to feed upon good Beeves, Muttons, and Goates, be to want, they have endured great scarcitie at Land, whereunto they never wanted two dayes together wine to mixe with their water, nor bread to eat with their meat (in some quantitie) except it were such as had vowed rather to starve then to stir out of their places for food: of whom we have too many.

Our men land within a mile of the Groine the 20. of April.

After six dayes sayling from the Coast of England, and the fifth after we had the wind good, being the twentieth of Aprill in the evening, we landed in a bay more then an English mile from the Groine, in our long Boats and Pinnaces without any impeachment: from whence we presently marched toward the Towne, within one halfe mile wee were encountred by the enemy, who being charged by ours, retired into their gates. For that night our Armie lay in the Villages, Houses, and Mils next adjoyning, and very neere round about the Towne, into the which the Galeon named S. John (which was the second of the last yeeres Fleet against England) one Hulke, two smaller Ships, and two Gallies which were found in the Road, did beat upon us and upon our Com-

panies as they passed too and fro that night and the next morning. Generall Norris having that morning before day viewed the Towne, found the same defended on the Land side (for it standeth upon the necke of an Iland) with a wall upon a dry Ditch: whereupon hee resolved to try in two places what might be done against it by Escalade, and in the meane time advised for the landing of some Artillerie to be upon the Ships and Gallies, that they might not annoy us: which being put in execution, upon the planting of the first Peece the Gallies abandoned the Road, and betooke them to Feroll, not farre from thence: and the Armada being beaten with the Artillery and Musketers that were placed upon the next shoare, left her playing upon us. The rest of the day was spent in preparing the Companies, and other provisions readie for the surprise of the base Towne, which was effected in this sort.

There were appointed to bee landed 1200. men, under the conduct of Colonell Huntley, and Captaine Fenner the Vice-Admirall, on that side next fronting us by water in long Boates and Pinnaces, wherein were placed many Peeces of Artillery to beat upon the Towne in their approach: at the corner of the wall, which defended the other water side, were appointed Captain Richard Wingfield, Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Norris, and Captaine Sampson, Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Drake, to enter at low water with five hundred men if they found it passable, but if not, to betake them to the Escalade, for they had also Ladders with them: at the other corner of the wall, which joyned to that side that was attempted by water, were appointed Colonell Umpton, and Colonell Bret, with three hundred men to enter by Escalade. All the Companies which should enter by Boat being imbarked before the low water, and having given the alarme, Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampson betooke them to the Escalade, for they had in commandement to charge all at one instant. The Boats landed without any great difficultie: yet had they some men hurt in landing.

Colonell Bret, and Colonell Umpton entred their quarter without encounter, not finding any defence made against them: for Captaine Hinder being one of them that entred by water, at his first entry, with some of his owne companie whom hee trusted well, betooke himselfe to that part of the wall, which hee cleered before that they offered to enter, and so scoured the wall, till he came on the backe of them, who maintained the fight against Captain Wingfield and Captaine Sampson; who were twice beaten from their Ladders, and found very good resistance, till the enemies perceiving ours entred in two places at their backes, were driven to abandon the same. The reason why that place was longer defended then the other, is (as Don Juan de Luna, who commanded the same affirmeth) that the enemie that day had resolved in counsell how to make their defences, if they were approached: and therein concluded, that, if wee attempted it by water, it was not able to bee held, and therefore upon the discovery of our Boates, they of the high Towne should make a signall by fire from thence, that all the low Towne might make their retreat thither: but they (whether troubled with the sudden terror we brought upon them, or forgetting their decree) omitted the fire, which made them guard that place till we were entred on every side.

Then the Towne being entred in three severall places with an huge cry, the Inhabitants betooke them to the high Towne: which they might with lesse perill doe, for that ours being strangers there, knew not the way to cut them off. The rest that were not put to the sword in furie, fled to the Rocks in the Iland, others hid themselves in Chambers and Sellers, which were every day found in great numbers.

Amongst those Don Juan de Luna, a man of very good commandement, having hidden himselfe in a house, did the next morning yeeld himselfe. There was also taken that night a Commissarie of victuals, called Juan de Vera, who confessed that there were in the Groine at our entrie [IV. x. 1918.] five hundred Souldiers, being in seven Companies, which

returned very weake (as appeareth by the small numbers of them) from the journey of England. The rest falling into the hands of the common Souldiers, had their throats cut, to the number of five hundred as I conjecture, first and last, after wee had entred the Towne; and in the entry thereof there was found everie Seller full of Wine, whereon our men by inordinate drinking, both grew themselves for the present senslesse of the danger of the shot of the Town, which hurt many of them being drunk, and tooke the first ground of their sicknesse; for of such was our first and chiefest mortalitie. There was also abundant store of Victualls, Salt, and all kind of provision for shipping and the warre: which was confessed by the said Commissary of Victualls taken there, to be the beginning of a Magasin of all sorts of provision for a new Voyage into England: whereby you may conjecture what the spoile thereof hath advantaged us, and prejudiced the King of Spaine.

Intemperate drinking cause of sicknesse.

New voyage to England intended.

The next morning about eight of the clocke the enemies abandoned their Ships. And having overcharched the Artillery of the Gallion, left her on fire, which burnt in terrible sort two daies together, the fire and overcharging of the Peeces being so great, as of fiftie that were in her, there were not above sixteene taken out whole; the rest with overcharge of the powder being broken and molten with heat of the fire, were taken out in broken pieces into divers Ships. The same day was the Cloister of the South side of the Towne entred by us, which joyned verie neere to the wall of the Town, out of the chambers and other places whereof we beat into the same with our Musketiers.

Gallion burnt.

The next day in the afternoone there came downe some two thousand men, gathered together out of the Countrey, even to the gates of the Towne, as resolutely (led by what spirit I know not) as though they would have entred the same: but at the first defence made by ours that had the guard there, wherein were slaine about eighteene of theirs, they tooke them to their heeles in the same disorder

they made their approach, and with greater speed then ours were able to follow: notwithstanding wee followed after them more then a mile. The second day Colonell Huntley was sent into the Countrey with three or foure hundred men, who brought home very great store of Kine and Sheepe for our reliefe.

The third day in the night, the Generall had in purpose to take a long Munition-house builded upon their wall, opening towardes us, which would have given great advantage against them; but they knowing the commodity thereof for us, burnt it in the beginning of the evening; which put him to a new councell: for he had likewise brought some Artillery to that side of the Town.

Dangerous fire. During this time there happened a very great fire in the lower end of the Towne; which, had it not bin by the care of the Generals heedily seene unto, and the fury thereof prevented by pulling downe many houses which were most in danger, as next unto them, had burnt all the provisions we found there, to our wonderfull hinderance.

The fourth day, were planted under the guard of the Cloisters two Demy-canons, and two Colverings against the Towne, defended or gabbioned with a crosse wall, thorow which our battery lay; the first and second tire whereof shooke all the wall down, so as all the Ordnance lay open to the Enemy, by reason wherof some of the Canoniers were shot and some slaine. The Lieutenant also of the Ordnance, M. Spencer, was slaine fast by Sir Edward Norris, Master thereof: whose valour being accompanied with an honourable care of defending that trust committed unto him, never left that place, till he received direction from the Generall his brother to cease the battery, which he presently did, leaving a guard upon the same for that day; and in the night following made so good defence for the place of the battery, as after there were very few or none annoyed therein. That day Captaine Goodwin had in commandement from the Generall, that when the assault should be given to the

Towne, he should make a proffer of an Escalade on the other side, where he held his guard: but he (mistaking the signall that would have beene given) attempted the same long before the assault, and was shot in the mouth. The same day the Generall having planted his Ordnance ready to batter, caused the Towne to be summoned; in which summons they of the Towne shot at our Drum: immediately after that there was one hanged over the wall, and a parle desired; wherein they gave us to understand, that the man hanged was hee that shot at the Drum before: wherein they all intreated to have faire wars, with promise of the same on their parts. The rest of the parle was spent in talking of Don Juan de Luna, and some other prisoners, and somewhat of the rendring of the Towne, but not much, for they listned not greatly thereunto.

Generall Norris having by his skilfull view of the Towne (which is almost all seated upon a Rocke) found one place thereof mineable, did presently set workemen *Undermining.* in hand withall; who after three daies labour (and the seventh after we were entred the base Towne) had bedded their Powder, but indeed not farre enough into the wall. Against which time the breach made by the Canon being thought assaultable, and Companies appointed as well to enter the same, as that which was expected should be blowne up by the Mine: namely, to that of the Canon, Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Philpot, who led the Generalls Foot-company, with whom also Captaine Yorke went, whose principall commandement was over the Horse-men. And to that of the Mine, Captaine John Sampson, and Captaine Anthony Wingfield Lieutenant Colonell to the Master of the Ordnance, with certaine [IV. x. selected out of divers Regiments. All these Companies 1919.] being in Armes, and the assault intended to be given in all places at an instant, fire was put to the traine of the Mine; by reason the Powder brake out backwardes in a place where the Cave was made too high, there could be nothing done in either place for that day. During this time

Provisions brought in.

Captain Hinder was sent with some chosen out of every Company into the Country for provisions, whereof he brought in good store, and returned without losse.

The next day Cap. Anthony Sampson was sent out with some five hundred to fetch in provisions for the Army, who was encountred by them of the Country, but he put them to flight, and returned with good spoile. The same night the Miners were set to worke againe, who by the second day after had wrought very well into the foundation of the wall. Against which time the Companies aforesaid being in readinesse for both places (Generall Drake on the other side, with two or three hundred men in Pinnaces, making proffer to attempt a strong Fort upon an Iland before the Towne, where he left more then thirtie men) fire was given to the traine of the Mine, which blew up halfe the Tower under which the Powder was planted. The assailants having in charge upon the effecting of the Mine presently to give the assault, performed it accordingly; but too soone: for having entred the top of the breach, the other halfe of

Tower falleth.

the Tower, which with the first force of the Powder was onely shaken and made loose, fell upon our men: under which were buried about twentie or thirtie, then being under that part of the Tower. This so amazed our men that stood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terror came, as they forsooke their Commanders, and left them among the ruines of the Mine. The two Ensignes of Generall Drake and Captaine Anthony Wingfield were shot in the breach, but their colours were rescued: the Generalls by Captaine Sampsons Lieutenant, and Captaine Wingfields by himselfe. Amongst them that the wall fell upon, was Cap. Sydenham pittifully lost; who having three or foure great stones upon his lower parts, was held so fast, as neither himselfe could stirre, nor any reasonable company recover him. Notwithstanding the next day being found to be alive, there was ten or twelve lost in attempting to relieve him.

The breach made by the Canon, was wonderfully well

assaulted by them that had the charge thereof, who brought their men to the push of the Pike at the top of the breach. And being readie to enter, the loose earth (which was indeede but the rubbish of the outside of the wall) with the weight of them that were thereon slipped outwardes from under their feet. Whereby did appeare halfe the wall unbattered. For let no man thinke that Culverin or Demy-canon can sufficiently batter a defensible rampire: and of those Peeces which we had, the better of the Demy-canons at the second shot brake in her carriages, so as the battery was of lesse force, being but of three Peeces.

In our retreat (which was from both breaches thorow a narrow lane) were many of our men hurt: and Captaine Dolphin, who served very well that day, was hurt in the very breach. The failing of this attempt, in the opinion of all the beholders, and of such as were of the best judgement, was the fall of the Mine; which had doubtlesse succeeded, the rather, because the approch was unlooked for by the enemy in that place, and therefore not so much defence made there as in the other; which made the Generall grow to a new resolution: for finding that two daies battery had so little beaten their wall, and that he had no better preparation to batter withall: he knew in his experience, there was no good to be done that way; which I thinke he first put in proofe, to try if by that terror hee could get the upper Towne, having no other way to put it in hazzard so speedily, and which in my conscience had obtained the Towne, had not the defendants bin in as great peril of their lives by the displeasure of their King in giving it up, as by the Bullet or Sword in defending the same. For that day before the assault, in the view of our Armie, they burnt a Cloister within the Town, and many other houses adjoyning to the Castle, to make it more defensible: whereby it appeared how little opinion themselves had of holding it against us, had not God (who would not have us suddenly made proud) laied that misfortune upon us.

Conde de Andrada his Armie.

The next day the Generall hearing by a prisoner that was brought in, that the Conde de Andrada had assembled an Armie of eight thousand at Puente de Burgos, sixe miles from thence in the way to Petance, which was but the beginning of an Armie: in that there was a greater leavy ready to come thither under the Conde de Altomira; either in purpose to relieve the Groine, or to encampe themselves neere the place of our embarking, there to hinder the same; for to that purpose had the Marquesse of Seralba, written to them both the first night of our landing, as the Commissary taken then confessed, or at the least to stop our further entrance into the Countrey, (for during this time, there were many incursions made of three or foure hundred at a time, who burnt, spoiled, and brought in victualls plentifully) the Generall, I say, hearing of this Armie, had in purpose the next day following to visite them, against whom hee carried but nine Regiments: as in the Vantguard were the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidney: in the Battaile, that of the Generall of Colonell Lane, and Colonell Medkerk: and in the Reareward, Sir Henry Norris, Colonell Huntley, and Colonell Brets Regiments; leaving the other five Regiments with Generall Drake, for the guard of the Cloister and Artillery. About ten of the clocke the next day, being the sixt of May, halfe a mile from the Campe, wee discovering the enemy, Sir Edward Norris, who commanded the Vantguard in chiefe, appointed his Lieutenant Colonell Captaine Anthony Wingfield to command the shot of the same, who divided them into three troupes; the one he appointed to Captain Middleton to be conducted in away on the left hand: another to Captain Erington to take the way on the right hand, and the bodie of them (which were Musquetiers) Captaine Wingfield tooke himselfe, keeping the direct way of the march. But the way taken by Captaine Middleton met a little before with the way held by Captaine Wingfield, so as he giving the first charge upon the enemy, was in the instant seconded by

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Captaine Wingfield, who beat them from place to place (they having very good places of defence, and crosse Walles which they might have held long) till they betooke them to their Bridge, which is over a creeke comming out of the Sea, builded of Stone upon Arches. On the foot of the further side whereof, lay the Campe of the enemy very strongly entrenched, who with our shot beaten to the further end of the Bridge, Sir Edward Norris marching in the point of the Pikes, without stay passed to the Bridge, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, Captaine Hinder, Captaine Fulford, and divers others, who found the way cleere over the same, but through an incredible volley of shot; for that the shot of their Army flanked upon both sides of the Bridge, the further end whereof was barricaded with Barrells: but they who should have guarded the same, seeing the proud approach wee made, forsooke the defence of the barricade, where Sir Edward entred, and charging the first defendant with his Pike, with very earnestnesse in overthrusting, fell, and was grievously hurt at the sword in the head, but was most honourably rescued by the Generall his brother, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, and some other Gentlemen: Captaine Hinder also having his Caske shot off, had five wounds in the head and face at the sword: and Captaine Fulford was shot in the left arme at the same encounter: yet were they so thorowly seconded by the Generall, who thrust himselfe so neere to give encouragement to the attempt (which was of wonderfull difficultie) as their bravest men that defended that place being overthrowne, their whole Army fell presently into rout, of whom our men had the chase three miles in foure sundry waies, which they betooke themselves unto. There was taken the Standard with the Kings Armes, and borne before the Generall. How many two thousand men (for of so many consisted our Vantguard) might kill in pursuit of foure sundry parties, so many you may imagine fell before us that day. And to make the number more great, our men having given over the execution, and returning to

The notable overthrow given to the Spaniards at Puente de Burgos.

their stands, found many hidden in the Vineyards and Hedges, which they dispatched. Also Colonell Medkerk was sent with his Regiment three miles further to a Cloister, which hee burnt and spoiled, wherein he found two hundred more, and put them to the sword. There were slaine in this fight on our side onely Captain Cooper, and one private Souldier; Captaine Barton was also hurt upon the Bridge in the eye. But had you seene the strong barricades they had made on either side of the Bridge, and how strongly they lay encamped thereabouts, you would have thought it a rare resolution of ours to give so brave a charge upon an Armie so strongly lodged. After the fury of the execution, the Generall sent the Vantguard one way, and the battell another, to burne and spoile; so as you might have seene the Countrey more then three miles compasse on fire. There was found very good store of Munition and victualls in the Campe, some plate and rich apparell, which the better sort left behind, they were so hotly pursued. Our Sailers also landed in an Iland next adjoyning to our ships, where they burnt and spoiled all they found. Thus we returned to the Groine, bringing small comfort to the enemy within the same, who shot many times at us as we marched out; but not once in our comming backe againe.

The next day was spent in shipping our Artillery landed for the battery, and of the rest taken at the Groine, which had it beene such as might have given us any assurance of a better battery, or had there beene no other purpose of our journey but that, I thinke the Generall would have spent some more time in the siege of the place.

The two last nights, there were that undertooke to fire the higher Towne in one place, where the houses were builded upon the wall by the water side; but they within suspecting as much, made so good defence against us, as they prevented the same. In our departure there was fire put into everie house of the low Towne, insomuch as I may justly say, there was not one house left standing in the base Towne, or the Cloister.

The next day, being the eight of May, wee embarked our Armie without losse of a man, which (had wee not beaten the enemie at Puente de Burgos) had beene impossible to have done.

After we had put from thence, we had the wind so contrarie, as we could not under nine daies recover the Burlings: in which passage on the thirteenth day the Earle of Essex, and with him M. Walter Devereux his brother (a Gentleman of wonderfull great hope) Sir Roger Williams, Colonell Generall of the Footmen, Sir Philip Butler, who hath alwaies beene most inward with him, and Sir Edward Wingfield, came into the Fleet. The Earle put off in the same wind from Falmouth, that wee left Plimouth in, where he lay, because he would avoid the importunitie of Messengers that were daily sent for his returne, and some other causes more secret to himselfe, not knowing (as it seemed) what place the Generals purposed to land in, had bin as far as Cadiz in Andaluzia, and lay up and downe about the South Cape, where hee tooke some Ships laden with Corne, and brought them unto the Fleet. Also in his returne from thence to meet with our Fleet, he fell with the Ilands of Bayon; and on that side of the River which Cannas standeth upon, he, with Sir Roger Williams, and those Gentlemen that were with him went on shoare, with some men out of the Ship he was in, whom the enemy that held guard upon that Coast, would not abide, but fled up into the Countrey.

Earle of Essex comes to them.

[IV. x. 1921.]

The sixteenth day we landed at Peniche in Portugal, under the shot of the Castle, and above the waste in the water, more then a mile from the town, wherin many were in peril of drowning, by reason the wind was great, and the Sea went high, which overthrew one Boat, wherein five and twentie of Captaine Dolphins men perished. The enemy being five Companies of Spaniards, under the commandement of Conde de Fuentes, sallied out of the town against us, and in our landing made their approach close by the water side. But the Earle of Essex, with Sir Roger Williams, and his brother, having landed

They land at Peniche.

sufficient number to make two troupes, left one to hold the way by the water side, and led the other over the Sand-hills; which the enemy seeing, drew theirs likewise further into the Land; not, as we conjectured, to encounter us, but indeed to make their speedie passage away: notwithstanding they did it in such sort, as being charged by ours which were sent out by the Colonell generall under Captaine Jackson, they stood the same even to the push of the Pike: in which charge and at the push, Captaine Robert Piew was slaine. The enemy being fled further then we had reason to follow them, all our Companies were drawne to the Town; which being unfortified in any place, wee found undefended by any man against us. And therefore the Generall caused the Castle to bee summoned that night; which being abandoned by him that commanded it, a Portugall named Antonio de Aurid, being possessed thereof, desired but to be assured that Don Antonio was landed, whereupon he would deliver the same; which he honestly performed. There was taken out of the Castle some hundred Shot and Pikes, which Don Emanuel furnished his Portugalls withall, and twentie Barrells of Powder: so as possessing both the Town and the Castle, we rested there one day; wherin some Friars and other poore men came unto their new King, promising in the name of their Countrey next adjoyning, that within two dayes hee should have a good supply of Horse and Foot for his assistance. That day wee remained there, the Generals company of horses were unshipped.

Peniche taken.

The Generalls there fully resolved, that the Armie should march over Land to Lisbon, under the conduct of Generall Norris; and that Generall Drake should meet him in the River thereof with the Fleet; that there should bee one Company of Foot left in guard of the Castle, and six in the Ships: also that the sicke and hurt should remaine there with provisions for their cures.

They march towards Lisbon.

In this march Captaine Crispe the Provost Marshall caused one who (contrary to the Proclamation published at our arrivall in Portugall) had broken up an house for

pillage, to bee hanged, with the cause of his death upon his breast, in the place where the act was committed: which good example providently given in the beginning of our march, caused the commandement to be more respectively regarded all the journey after, by them whom feare of punishment doth only hold within compasse. The Campe lodged that night at Lorinha: the next day we had intelligence all the way, that the enemy had made head of Horse and Foot against us at Torres Vedras, which wee thought they would have held: but comming thither the second day of our march, not two houres before our Vantguard came in, they left the Towne and Castle to the possession of Don Antonio. *Good discipline.*

There began the greatest want we had of victuals, especially of bread, upon a commandement given from the Generall, that no man should spoile the Country, or take any thing from any Portugall: which was more respectively observed, then I thinke would have bin in our owne Countrey, amongst our owne friends and kindred: but the Countrey (contrary to promise) wholly neglected the provision of victuals for us, wherby we were driven for that time into a great scarsity. Which moved the Colonell Generall to call all the Colonells together, and with them to advise of some better course for our people: who thought it best, first to advertise the King what necessitie we were in, before we should of our selves alter the first institution of abstinence. The Colonell generall, having acquainted the Generall herewith, with his very good allowance thereof, went to the King; who after some expostulations used, tooke the more carefull order for our men, and after that our Armie was more plentifully relieved. *Want of bread.*

The third day we lodged our Armie in three sundry Villages, the one Battalion lying in Exarama de los Cavalleros, another in Exarama de Obispo, and the third in San Sebastian. Captain Yorke who commanded the Generalls Horse Company, in this march made triall of the valour of the Horsemen of the enemy; who by one

of his Corporals charged with eight Horses thorow fortie of them, and himselfe thorow more then two hundred, with some fortie Horses: who would abide him no longer then they could make way from him.

The next day we marched to Lores, and had divers Intelligences that the enemy would tarry us there: for the Cardinall had made publike promise to them of Lisbon, that he would fight with us in that place, which he might have done advantageously; for we had a Bridge to passe over in the same place: but before our comming he dislodged, notwithstanding it appeared unto us that hee had in purpose to incampe there; for wee found the ground staked out where their trenches should have bin made: and their Horsemen with some few Shot shewed themselves upon an Hill at our comming into that Village; whom Sir Henry Norris (whose Regiment had the point of the Vantgard) thought to draw unto some fight, and therefore marched without sound of Drum, and somewhat faster then ordinary, thereby to get neere them before he were discovered, for hee was shadowed from them by an Hill that was betweene him and them: but before he could draw his Companies any thing neere, they retired.

[IV. x. 1922.]

Generall Drakes Regiment that night, for the commoditie of good lodging, drew themselves into a Village, more then one English mile from thence, and neere the enemy: who not daring to doe any thing against us in foure dayes before, tooke that occasion, and in the next morning fell downe upon that Regiment, crying, Viva el Rey Don Antonio, which was a generall salutation thorow all the Countrey as they came: whom our young Souldiers (though it were upon their guard, and before the watch were discharged) began to entertaine kindly, but having got within their guard, they fell to cut their throats: but the alarme being taken inwards, the Officers of the two next Companies, whose Captaines (Captain Sydnam and Captain Young) were lately dead at the Groine, brought downe their Colours and Pikes upon them in so resolute manner, as they presently drave them to retire with losse:

they killed of ours at the first entrance fourteene, and hurt six or seven.

The next day we lodged at Alvelana within three miles of Lisbon, where many of our Souldiers drinking in two places of standing waters by the way were poysoned, and thereon presently dyed. Some doe thinke it came rather by eating of Hony, which they found in the houses plentifully. But whether it were by Water or by Hony, the poore men were poisoned. That night the Earle of Essex and Sir Roger Williams went out about eleven of the clocke with 1000. men to lie in ambuscade neere the Town, and having laied the same very neere, sent some to give the alarme unto the enemy: which was well performed by them that had the charge thereof, but the enemy refused to issue after them, so that the Earle returned as soone as it was light without doing any thing, though he had in purpose, and was ready to have given an honourable charge on them.

Some died with drinking water.

Earle of Essex his attempt.

The 25. of May in the evening we came to the Suburbs of Lisbon: at the very entrance whereof Sir Roger Williams calling Captaine Anthony Wingfield with him, tooke thirtie Shot or thereabouts, and first scowred all the Streets till they came very neere the Towne; where they found none but old folkes and beggars, crying, Viva el Rey Don Antonio, and the houses shut up: for they had carried much of their wealth into the Towne, and had fired some houses by the waterside, full of Corne and other provisions of victualls, least wee should be benefited thereby, but yet left behind them great riches in many houses. The foure Regiments that had the vantguard that day, which were Colonell Devereux, Sir Edward Norris, Colonell Sidneys, and Generall Drakes (whom I name as they marched) the Colonell generall caused to hold guard in the neerest Streets of the Suburbs: the Battel and the Arrereward stood in Armes all the night in Field neere to Alcantara. Before morning Captaine Wingfield, by direction from the Colonell generall Sir Roger Williams, held guard with Sir Edward Norris his Regiment in three

They come to the suburbs of Lisbon.

places very neere the Towne wall, and so held the same till the other Regiments came in the morning. About midnight they within the Towne burnt all their houses that stood upon their wall either within or without, least we possessing them, might thereby greatly have annoyed the Towne.

Houses burnt by the Portugalls.

The next morning Sir Roger Williams attempted (but not without perill) to take a Church called S. Antonio, which joyned to the wall of the Towne, and would have been a very evill neighbor to the Towne: but the enemy having more easie entry into it then wee, gained it before us. The rest of that morning was spent in quartering the Battell and Arrereward in the Suburbs called Bona Vista, and in placing Musquetiers in houses, to front their Shot upon the wall, who from the same scowred the great Streets very dangerously.

By this time our men being thorowly weary with our sixe dayes march, and the last nights watch, were desirous of rest; whereof the enemy being advertised, about one or two of the clocke sallied out of the Town, and made their approach in three severall Streets upon us, but chiefly in Colonell Brets quarter: who (as most of the Armie was) being at rest, with as much speed as he could, drew his men into Armes, and made head against them so thorowly, as himselfe was slain in the place, Captaine Carsey shot thorow the thigh, of which hurt hee died within foure dayes after, Captaine Carre slaine presently, and Captaine Cave hurt (but not mortally) who were all of his Regiment. This resistance made as well here, as in other quarters where Colonell Lane and Colonell Medkerk commanded, put them to a sudden foule retreat; insomuch, as the Earle of Essex had the chase of them even to the gates of the high Town, wherin they left behind them many of their best Commanders: their troupe of Horsemen also came out, but being charged by Captain Yorke, withdrew themselves againe. Many of them also left the streets, and betooke them to houses which they found open: for the Sergeant Major Captain Wilson slew

Colonell Bret slaine.

Their retrait, and chase by E. Essex.

in one house with his owne hands three or foure, and caused them that were with him to kill many others. Their losse I can assure you did triple ours, as well in qualitie as in quantitie.

Gen. Drakes comming.

During our march to this place, Generall Drake with the whole Fleet was come into Cascais, and possessed the Town without any resistance: many of the Inhabitants at their discovery of our Navie, fled with their baggage into the Mountaines, and left the Towne for any man that would possesse it, till Generall Drake sent unto them by a Portugall Pilot which he had on boord, to offer them all peaceable kindnesse, so farre forth as they would accept of their King, and minister necessaries to the Armie he had brought; which offer they joyfully imbraced, and presently sent two chiefe men of their Town, to signifie their loyaltie to Don Antonio, & their honest affections to our people. Whereupon the Generall landed his Companies not farre from the Cloister called San Domingo, but not without perill of the shot of the Castle, which being guarded with sixtie five Spaniards, held still against him.

[IV. x. 1923.]

Cascais forsaken.

As our Fleet were casting anker when they came first into that Road, there was a small ship of Brasil that came from thence, which bare with them, and seemed by striking her sailes, as though she would also have ancred: but taking her fittest occasion hoised againe, and would have passed up the River, but the Generall presently discerning her purpose, sent out a Pinnace or two after her, which forced her in such sort, as she ran her selfe upon the Rocks: all the men escaped out of her, and the lading (being many chests of Sugar) was made nothing worth, by the Salt water. In his going thither also, he tooke Ships of the Port of Portugall, which were sent from thence, with fifteene other from Pedro Vermendes Xantes Sergeant Major of the same place, laden with men and victualls to Lisbon: the rest that escaped put into Setuvel.

Ships taken.

Consultation.

The next day it pleased Generall Norris to call all the Colonels together, and to advise with them, whether it

were more expedient to tarry there to attend the forces of the Portugall Horse and Foot, whereof the King had made promise, and to march some convenient number to Cascais to fetch our Artillery and Munition which was all at our ships, saving that which for the necessity of the service was brought along with us: whereunto, some carried away with the vaine hope of Don Antonio, that the most part of the Town stood for us, held it best to make our abode there, and to send some three thousand of our Artillery: promising to themselves, that the Enemy being well beaten the day before, would make no more sallies: some others (whose unbeliefe was very strong of any hope from the Portugall) perswaded rather to march wholly away, then to be any longer carried away with the opinion of things, whereof there was so little appearance. The Generall, not willing to leave any occasion of blot to be laid upon him for his speedie going from thence, nor to lose any more time by attending the hope of Don Antonio; told them, that though the expedition of Portugall were not the onely purpose of their journey, but an adventure therein (which if it succeeded prosperously might make them sufficiently rich, and wonderfull honourable) and that they had done so much alreadie in triall thereof, as what end soever happened could nothing impaire their credits: yet in regard of the Kings last promise, that hee should have that night three thousand armed men of his owne Country, he would not for that night dislodge. The King of Portugall (whether carried away with imagination, by the advertisements he received from the Portugalls, or willing by any promise to bring such an Armie into his Countrey, thereby to put his fortune once more in triall) assured the Generall, that upon his first landing there would be a revolt of his subjects.

Don Antonios promises frustrate.

After two nights staying at Lisbon, the King, as you have heard promised a supply of three thousand Foot, and some Horse: but all his appointments being expired, even to the last of a night, all his Horse could not make a Cornet of fortie, nor his Foot furnish two Ensignes fully,

although they carried three or foure colours: and these were altogether such as thought to inrich themselves by the ruine of their neighbours: for they committed more disorders in every place where we came by spoile, then any of our owne.

The Generall, as you see, having done more then before his comming out of England was required by the King, and given credite to his many promises, even to the breach of the last, he desisted not to perswade him to stay yet nine daies longer: in which time hee might have engaged himselfe further, then with any honor he could come out off againe, by attempting a Town fortified, wherein were more men armed against us, then we had to oppugne them withall, our Artillery and Munition being fifteene miles from us, and our men then declining; for there was the first shew of any great sicknesse amongst them. Whereby it seemeth, that either his Prelacie did much abuse him in perswading him to hopes, whereof after two or three daies hee saw no semblance: or hee like a silly lover, who promiseth himselfe favour by importuning a coy mistresse, thought by our long being before his Towne, that in the end taking pittie on him they would let him in. What end the Friers had by following him with such devotion I know not, but sure I am, the Laitie did respite their homage till they might see which way the victorie might sway; fearing to shew themselves apparantly unto him, least the Spaniard should after our departure (if we prevailed not) call them to account: yet sent they underhand messages to him of obedience, thereby to save their owne, if he became King; but indeed very well contented to see the Spaniards and us trie by blowes who should carry away the Crowne. For they be of so base a mould, as they can very well subject themselves to any government, where they may live free from blowes, and have libertie to become rich, being loth to indure hazzard either of life or goods. For durst they have put on any minds thorowly to revolt, they had three wonderfull great occasions offered them during our being there, &c.

They march from Lisbon.

The next morning, seeing no performance of promise kept, the Generall gave order for our marching away; himselfe, the Earle of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams remaining with the stand that was made in the high street, till the whole Armie was drawne into the Field, and so marched out of the Towne, appointing Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Anthony Wingfield in the Arrereward of them with the shot; thinking that the enemy (as it was most likely) would have issued out upon our rising; but they were otherwise advised. When we were come into the Field, everie Battalion fell into that order which by course appertained unto them, and so marched that night unto Cascais. Had wee marched thorow his Countrey as enemies, our Souldiers had beene well supplied in all their wants: but had wee made enemies of the Suburbs of Lisbon, wee had beene the richest Armie that ever went out of England: for besides the particular wealth of every house, there were many Ware-houses by the water side full of all sorts of rich Merchandizes.

The riches that they might have gotten at Lisbon.

In our march that day the Gallies which had somewhat, but not much annoyed us at Lisbon, (for that our way lay along the River) attended us till we were past S. Julians, bestowing many shot amongst us, but did no harme at all, saving that they strooke off a Gentlemans leg, and killed the Sergeant Majors Moile under him. The Horsemen also followed us afarre off, and cut off as many sicke men as were not able to hold in march, nor we had carriage for.

After we had beene two daies at Cascais, wee had intelligence by a Friar, that the enemy was marching strongly towards us, and then came as farre as S. Julian: which newes was so welcome to the Earle of Essex and the Generalls, as they offered every one of them to give the Messenger an hundred Crownes if they found them in the place; for the Generall desiring nothing more then to fight with them in field roome, dispatched that night a Messenger with a Trumpet, by whom hee writ a Cartell to the Generall of their Armie, wherein he gave them

Desire of the English to fight.

the lie, in that it was by them reported that wee dislodged from Lisbon in disorder and feare of them (which indeed was most false) for that it was five of the clocke in the morning before wee fell into Armes, and then went in such sort, as they had no courage to follow out upon us. Also he challenged him therein, to meet him the next morning with his whole Armie, if hee durst attend his comming, and there to try out the justnesse of their quarrell by battell; by whom also the Earle of Essex (who preferring the honour of the cause, which was his Countries, before his owne safetie) sent a particular Cartell, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his qualitie; or if they would not admit of that; six, eight, or ten, or as many as they would appoint, should meet so many of theirs in the head of our battell to trie their fortunes with them; and that they should have assurance of their returne and honourable intreatie.

The Generall accordingly made all his Armie readie, by three of the clocke in the morning, and marched even to the place where they had encamped, but they were dislodged in the night in great disorder, being taken with a sudden feare that we had been come upon them, as the Generall was the next day certainely informed: so as the Trumpet followed them to Lisbon, but could not get other answere to either of his Letters, but threatning to bee hanged, for daring to bring such a message. Howbeit the Generall had caused to be written upon the backside of their Pasport, that if they did offer any violence unto the Messengers, he would hang the best prisoners he had of theirs: which made them to advise better of the matter, and to returne them home; but without answere.

Feare of the enemies.

After our Armie came to Cascais, and the Castle summoned, the Castellan thereof granted, that upon five or six shot of the Canon he would deliver the same, but not without sight thereof. The Generall thinking that his distresse within had been such for want of men or victuals, as he could not hold it many dayes, because hee saw it otherwise defensible enough, determined rather to make

him yeeld to that necessitie, then to bring the Canon, and therefore onely set a guard upon the same, least any supply of those things which hee wanted should bee brought unto them. But hee still standing upon these conditions, the Generall about two dayes before hee determined to goe to Sea, brought three or foure Peeces of battery against it: upon the first tire whereof he surrendered, and compounded to goe away with his baggage and Armes: hee had one Canon, two Culverings, one Basiliske, and three or foure other Field Peeces, threescore and five Souldiers, very good store of Munition, and victualls enough in the Castle; insomuch as hee might have held the same longer then the Generall had in purpose to tarry there. One company of Footmen was put into the guard thereof, till the Artillery was taken out, and our Armie imbarked; which without having that fort, we could not without great perill have done. When we were readie to set saile (one halfe of the Fort being by order from the Generall blowne up by mine) the company was drawne away.

Castle of Cascais yeelded.

During the time we lay in the Road, our Fleet began the second of June, and so continued six dayes after to fetch in some Hulks to the number of threescore, of Dansik, Stetin, Rostock, Lubeck and Hamburgh, laden with Spanish goods, and as it seemed for the Kings provision, and going for Lisbon: their principall lading was Corne, Masts, Cables, Copper, and Waxe: amongst which were some of great burthen wonderfull well builded for sailing, which had no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought they were brought for the Kings provision, to reinforce his decaied Navie: whereof there was the greater likelihood, in that the owner of the greatest of them which carried two misnes, was knowne to be very inward with the Cardinall, who rather then he would be taken with his ships, committed himselfe unto his small Boate, wherein he recovered Saint Sebastians: into the which our men, that before were in flie-boates, were shipped, and the Flie-boates sent home with an offer of Corne, to the value of their hire. But the winde being

Sixtie Hulkes brought.

[IV. x. 1925.]

Cardinall Albert after married to the Infanta and Ruler of the Spanish Port of the Low Countries.

good for them for Rochel, they chose rather to loose their Corne then the winde, and so departed. The Generall also sent his Horses with them, and from thence shipped them into England.

The third of June, Colonell Devereux, and Colonell Sidney, being both very sicke, departed for England, who in the whole journey had shewed themselves very forward to all services, and in their departure very unwilling to leave us: that day we embarked all our Army, but lay in the road untill the eight thereof.

The sixt day, the Earle of Essex, upon receit of Letters from her Majesty, by them that brought in the victuals, presently departed towards England, with whom Sir Roger Williams was very desirous to goe, but found the Generals very unwilling he should do so, in that he bare the next place unto them, and if they should miscarry, was to command the Army. And the same day there came unto us two small Barkes, that brought tidings of some other ships come out of England with victuals, which were passed upwards to the Cape: for meeting with whom, the second day after we set saile for that place, in purpose after our meeting with them to goe with the Iles of Azores, the second day, which was the ninth, we met with them comming backe againe towards us, whose provision little answered our expectation. Notwithstanding we resolved to continue our course for the Ilands.

About this time was the Marchant Royall, with three or foure other ships, sent to Peniche, to fetch away the companies that were left there; but Captain Barton having received Letters from the Generals that were sent overland, was departed before, not being able by reason of the enemies speedy marching thither, either to bring away the artillery, or all his men, according to the direction those letters gave him; for he was no sooner gone, then the enemy possessed the Towne and Castle, and shot at our ships as they came into the road.

Morocco Embassadour.

At this time also was the Ambassadour from the

Emperor of Marocco, called Reys Hamet Bencasamp, returned, and with him M. Ciprian, a Gentleman of good place and desert, who sent from Don Antonio, and Captaine Ousley from the Generals to the Emperour.

The next morning the nine Gallies which were sent not five daies before out of Andaluzia for the strengthening of the River of Lisbon (which being joyned with the other twelve that were there before, though we lay hard by them at Saint Julians, durst never make any attempt against us) upon our departure from thence were returning home, and in the morning being a very dead calme, in the dawning thereof, fell in the winde of our fleet, in the uttermost part whereof they assailed one stragling Barke of Plimmouth, of the which Captaine Caverley being Captaine of the land company, with his Lieutenant, the Master, and some of the Marriners, abandoned the ship, and betooke them to the ship-boats, whereof one, in which the Master and the Captaine were, was overrun with the Gallies, and they drowned. There were also two Hulkes stragled far from the strength of the other ships, which were so calmed, as neither they could get to us, nor we to them, though all the great ships towed with their Boats to have relieved them, but could not be recovered, in one of which was Captaine Minshaw with his company, who fought with them to the last, yea after his ship was on fire, which whither it was fired by himselfe or by them we could not well discerne, but might easily judge by his long and good fight, that the enemy could not but sustain much losse; who setting also upon one other Hulke wherein was but a Lieutenant, and he very sicke, were by the valour of the Lieutenant put off, although they had first beaten her with their artillery, and attempted to boord her. And seeing also one other Hulke a league off, a sterne of us, they made towards her: but finding that she made ready to fight with them, they durst not further attempt her: whereby it seemed, their losse being great in the other fights, they were loath to proceede any further.

From that day till the nineteenth of June, our direction from the Generall was, that if the winde were Northerly, we should plie for the Azores; but if Southerly, for the Iles of Bayon. We lay with contrary windes about that place and the Rocke, till the Southerly winde prevailing carried us to Bayon: among whom was Sir Henry Norris in the Ayde; who had a purpose (if the Admirals had not come in) with some 500. men out of them all to have landed, and attempted the taking of Vigo. The rest of the fleet held with generall Drake, who though he were two dayes before put upon those Ilands, cast off againe to Sea for the Azores: but remembring how unprovided he was for that journey, and seeing that he had lost company of his great ships, returned for Bayon, and came in there that night in the evening, where hee passed up the River more then a mile above Vigo. *Bayon.*

The next morning wee landed as many as were able to fight, which were not in the whole above two thousand men (for in the seventeene dayes we continued on boord wee had cast many of our men over-boord) with which number the Colonell generall marched to the Towne of Vigo, neere the which when hee approached, he sent Captaine Anthony Wingfield with a troupe of shot to enter one side of the same, who found upon every streetes end a strong barricade, but altogether abandoned; for having entred the Towne, he found but one man therein, but might see them making way before him to Bayon. On the other side the Towne entred Generall Drake with Captaine Richard Wingfield, whose approach on that side (I thinke) made them leave the places they had so artificially made for defence: there were also certaine ships sent with the Vice-admirall to lye close before the Towne, to beate upon the same with their artillery. [IV. x. 1926.] *Vigo taken.*

In the afternoone were sent three hundred under the conduct of Captaine Petuin and Captain Henry Poure, to burne another Village betwixt that and Bayon, called Borsis, and as much of the Countrie as the day would give them leave to doe; which was a very pleasant rich

Borsis burned. Valley: but they burnt it all, houses and corne, as did others on the other side of the Town, both that and the next day, so as the Countrey was spoiled seven or eight miles in length. There was found great store of Wine in the Town, but not any thing else: for the other daies warning of the ships that came first in, gave them a respit to carry all away.

The next morning by breake of the day the Colonell generall (who in the absence of the Generals that were on boord their ships, commanded that night on shoare) caused all our Companies to be drawne out of the Towne, *Vigo burned.* and sent in two troupes to put fire in every house of the same: which done, we imbarked againe. This day there were certaine Mariners which (without any direction) put themselves on shoare, on the contrary side of the River from us for pillage.

The same day the Generals seeing what weake estate our Army was drawne into by sicknes, determined to man and victuall twenty of the best ships for the Ilands of Azores, with Generall Drake, to see if he could meete with the Indian Fleet, and Generall Norris to returne home with the rest: And for the shifting of men and victuals accordingly, purposed the next morning to fall downe to the Ilands of Bayon againe, and to remaine there that day. But Generall Drake, according to their appointment, being under saile never strooke at the Ilands, but put straight to Sea: whom all the Fleet followed saving three and thirty, which being in the River further then he, and at the entrance of the same, finding the winde and tide too hard against them, were inforced to cast ancre there for that night; amongst whom, by good fortune, was the Foresight, and in her Sir Edward Norris. And the night following, Generall Norris being driven from the rest of the Fleet by a great storme (for all that day was the greatest storme we had all the time we were out) came againe into the Ilands, but not without great perill, he being forced to trust to a Spanish Fisher-man (who was taken two dayes before at Sea) to bring him in.

The next morning he called a counsell of as many as he found there, holding the purpose hee had concluded with Sir Francis Drake the day before, and directed all their courses for England, tarrying there all that day to water and helpe such with victuall, as were left in wonderfull distresse by having the victuals that came last, carried away the day before to Sea.

Their returne to Plimmouth.

The next day he set saile, and the tenth day after, which was the second of July came into Plimmouth, where he found Sir Francis Drake and all the Queenes ships, with many of the others but not all: for the Fleete was dispersed into other harbours, some led by a desire of returning from whence they came, and some being possessed of the hulkes, sought other Ports from their Generals eye, where they might make their private commoditie of them, as they have done to their great advantage. Presently upon their arrivall there, the Generals dissolved all the armie saving eight companies which are yet held together, giving every Souldier five shillings in money, and the armes he bare to make money of, which was more then could by any meanes be due unto them: for they were not in service three moneths, in which time they had their victuals, which no man will value at lesse then halfe their pay, for such is the allowance in her Majesties ships to her Mariners, so as there remained but ten shillings a moneth to be paid, for which there was not any private man but had apparell and furniture to his owne use, so as every common Souldier discharged, received more in money, victuals, apparell, and furniture, then his pay did amount unto.

END OF VOLUME XIX.

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